

THE CISTERCIAN ABBEY OF BEAULIEU, IN THE COUNTY OF SOUTHAMPTON.[1]

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General History.

According to an account printed, though not quite correctly, in Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum*,[2] from a MS. in the Cotton Library, which is believed to have belonged to the Abbey of Kirkstall :

In the 6th year of King John the same King built a certain monastery of the Cistercian Order in England and named it *Bellus-Locus*. This monastery is said to have been built by him for the following reason :

Because the same King was angry beyond measure without cause against the abbats and other members of the aforesaid Cistercian Order and vexed them immoderately through his ministers, at a certain Parliament which he held at Lincoln, the abbats of the said Order came to see if in any way they could regain the King's grace and favour. When he saw them, so cruel of mind was he, that he vilely ordered his servants to trample the said abbats under the feet of the horses. But the royal servants, being unwilling to perform so atrocious and unheard-of a command from any Christian prince, these lord abbats, because they almost despaired of the royal bounty, hastily returned to their lodgings.

On the following night, when the same King John was sleeping in his bed, it seemed to him that he had been led before a certain judge, the aforesaid abbats standing there, who ordered the said abbats to beat the said King upon his back with scourges and rods. And this very beating, on awakening in the morning, he said he felt. Moreover, he narrated his dream to a certain ecclesiastical personage of his court, who told him that God was merciful to him beyond measure, in that he had deigned so clemently and paternally to correct him in this present age and to reveal to him his mysteries, and he counselled the King to send speedily for the abbats of the said Order, and to beg from them an humble pardon for his guilt. The King assenting, they were sent for to come to the King. On hearing this from the King's messenger, they thought they would be banished from England. But God, who

[1] Read at the Ordinary Meeting of the Institute, 4th July, 1906.

[2] Ed. Caley, Ellis and Bandinel, v. 682.

leaves not his own, disposed otherwise, for when they had come into the King's presence, the same King relaxed his indignation which he had towards them.[1]

So much of this story as relates to the vexatious treatment of the Cistercian abbats is evidently based on the pecuniary claims made upon the Order when King John was at York in March, 1200. These claims are set forth at length by the writer of the Coggeshall chronicle, who was himself a Cistercian. He also gives the text of the writs issued by the King when at Lincoln in November of the same year, informing the respective sheriffs that he had received into full favour the abbats of the Cistercian Order, and taken all their goods and possessions into his own hand, custody, and protection.[2]

Although there does not seem to be any direct connexion between the King's alleged dream and the founding of Beaulieu Abbey, there are certain facts which show that John did actually begin a foundation of Cistercian monks within reasonable date of his making peace with the Order.

[1] The following is the actual text, as transcribed from the original in Cott. MS. Domitian A. xii :

f. 85*b*.] "Anno regis Johannis vj° Idem Rex construxit quoddam cenobium Ordinis Cisterciensis in Anglia et Bellum locum nominavit. Quod quidem cenobium tali occasione narratur ab eo factum. Quia enim idem Rex versus abbates et alias personas ordinis Cisterciensis prenominati supra modum sine causa esset iratus et eosdem non mediocriter per ministros suos gravaret ad quoddam parliamentum quod ipse apud Lincolniam tenuit Abbates dicti ordinis venerunt [f. 86] si quo modo Regis ejusdem graciam et favorem potuissent aliquatinus invenire. Quibus visis. sicut crudelis animi erat precepit suis ut dictos abbates sub pedibus equorum viliter conculcarent. Regiis vero ministris tam facinorosum et inauditum hactenus mandatum ab aliquo principe Christiano perficere nolentibus : hii domini Abbates quia fere desperantes de regia benignitate ad sua hospicia festinanter accesserunt. Nocte vero sequenti cum idem rex Johannes in lecto suo dormiret. videbatur ei quod coram quodam judice predictis abbatibus illuc assistentibus ductus fuisset. Qui eisdem abbatibus jussit dictum Regem supra dorsum suum cum flagellis et virgis verberare. Quam quidem verberacionem mane vigilans dixit se sensisse. Sompnium vero suum cuidam persone ecclesiastice de curia sua narravit. qui dixit ei. quod Deus erga eum supra modum esset misericors qui eum tam clementer et paterne in presenti seculo dignatus est corripere. et eidem sua misteria revelare. Et consuluit Regem. ut pro abbatibus dicti ordinis velociter mitteret. et ab eisdem de reatu suo veniam humilem imploraret. Rege siquidem acquiescente pro eis ut ad regem venirent missum est. Quod audientes per nuncium regis putaverunt se ab Anglia fore exterminandos. Deo tamen qui suos non deserit aliter disponente. Cum enim ante conspectum regis venissent indignacionem suam quam erga eos habuit idem Rex remisit."

The MS. from which this is taken is entitled, in an eighteenth century hand : "Cronica de Kirkstall."

[2] *Radulphi de Coggeshale Chronicon Anglicanum* (Rolls Series 66), 102–110.

This foundation was not, however, at Beaulieu, but on the royal manor of Faringdon, in Berkshire. The actual date of it does not appear, but on the Liberate Roll for the King's fifth regnal year are two writs, both dated 5th July, 1203.[1]

The one is addressed to Geoffrey Fitz Piers, directing him to find out what the Cistercian monks have spent on seed and other necessary expenses in the manor of Faringdon, and repay them what they are out of pocket.

The other writ is to Hugh de Nevill, bidding him to see what timber the Cistercian monks need to make sheepcotes and other necessary houses at Faringdon, and to let them have it from the King's wood.

On 2nd November of the same year, the King issued another writ to Hugh de Nevill ordering him to let "the monks of Faringdon" have timber in a convenient place for building their houses according to the number of monks.[2]

On the same 2nd November the King also issued a charter, granting to the church of the Blessed Mary of Citeaux, for the salvation of the souls of himself and his predecessors and his heirs, the manor of Faringdon "as the monks of the aforesaid monastery of Citeaux who are at Faringdon hold it, with its appurtenances, to build there a certain abbey of the Cistercian Order, so that there may be a convent there."[3]

For some reason, perhaps on account of the smallness of the endowment, the scheme was not apparently at once carried into effect, and in the course of the following year

[1] Liberate Roll, 5 John [1203]. *m.* 11.
Rex etc. G. filio Petri etc. Mandamus vobis quod inquiri faciatis quantum monachi Cistercienses posuerint in simine et in aliis expensis necessariis in manerio de Ferendoñ' et id quod in hiis posuerint ultra id quod inde receperint eis sine dilacione reddi faciatis. T. me ipso apud Roth. v. die Julii. Per episcopum Norvic.
Rex etc. Hugoni de Nevill. etc. Mandamus vobis quod videri faciatis quanto mairemii indigeant monachi Cistercienses' ad faciendas barkerias et alias necessarias domos apud Ferendoñ' et ad illas eis mairemium habere faciatis in bosco nostro' ubi et sicut videritis habere fieri posse ad minus detrimentum bosci nostri. T. domino Norwic' apud Roth. v. die Julii.
[NOTE.—These and other extracts that follow from the Liberate and Close Rolls are extended from the contracted printed versions published by the Record Commission.]

[2] Liberate Roll, 5 John [1203]. *m.* 7.
Rex etc. Hugoni de Nevill, etc. Mandamus vobis quod faciatis habere monachis de Ferendoñ mairemium in loco competenti ad edificia sua facienda secundum quantitatem monachorum ibidem existentium. T. me ipso apud V'noł. ij die Novembris.

[3] Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum* (ed. Caley, Ellis and Bandinel), v. 683.

the King formally founded a new and more important abbey at a place called *Bellus Locus* or Beaulieu, in the New Forest, to which, amongst other endowments, the manor of Faringdon was annexed.

The foundation charter so-called is dated at Winchester on 25th January, 1204–5, in the King's sixth regnal year, and gives, grants, and confirms to God and the church of St. Mary *de Bello Loco Regis* "which we have founded in the New Forest in Southhamptonshire," and to the abbats and monks who serve and shall serve God there, the very place in which their abbey is situated with all the land contained within the bounds subscribed. These are duly set forth, as are the various manors, etc., wherewith the King endowed his new foundation.[1]

The earliest document relating to the abbey of Beaulieu is apparently a brief upon the Close Roll, dated 16th August, 1204, in the King's sixth year, that is, five months earlier than the foundation charter, directed to all the Cistercian abbats, begging them in consideration of God and himself to make an aid for his new abbey of Beaulieu in the New Forest "because we have begun it in the same place of your Order to store it with provisions and that each one of you do for us as our letters signify."[2]

On the 12th September the King directs William of Wrotham, archdeacon of Taunton, and his fellow to let the abbat of Beaulieu have 23 marks and 10*d.* (£15 7*s.* 6*d.*) from the Exchequer, and on the 23rd October the Treasurer was ordered to deliver to the abbat 100 marks (£66 13*s.* 4*d.*) "for building our abbey."[3] Early in April,

[1] Dugdale, *Mon. Anglicanum*, v. 683.

[2] Close Roll, 6 John. *m.* 19, *in dorso.*

Rex etc. omnibus Abbatibus Cysterciensibus etc. Rogamus vos attencius quatinus intuitu Dei et nostri auxilium faciatis nove Abbatie nostre de Bello Loco in Nova Foresta quia de ordine vestro ibidem inchoavimus ad eam de averiis instaurandam. Et quid ei singuli vestri inde fecerint nobis per litteras suas significent. Teste etc. apud Wigorniam xvj. die Augusti anno etc. vj^to^.

[3] Close Roll, 6 John. *m.* 17.

Rex etc. Willelmo de Wrotham Archidiacono de Tantona et sociis suis, etc. Mandamus vobis quod statim visis literis istis faciatis habere Abbati de Bello Loco xxiij. marcas et x.d. etc. Teste G. filio Petri etc. apud Lutegareshal xij. die Septembris.

Close Roll, 6 John. *m.* 13.

Rex etc. W. Thesaurario etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro Abbati de Bello Loco in Nova Foresta C. marcas ad abbaciam nostram construendam ad terminos quos vobis dicent Dominus Norwicensis et G. filius Petri, et Petrus de Rupibus. Teste me ipso apud Brehill xxiij. die Octobris.

1205, the King directs the barons of the Exchequer to allow to William of Cornhill, "our clerk," from the issues of the bishopric of Winchester, 250 marks (£166 13*s.* 4*d.*), which he paid to the monks of the Cistercian Order at Beaulieu by will of Godfrey, bishop of Winchester.[1] As the bishop died in September, 1204, the actual foundation of the abbey was probably in August, concurrently with the issue of the King's brief to the Cistercian abbats.

Two other writs are entered upon the Close Roll: one dated 26th August, 1205, directing the treasurer to deliver to the abbat of Beaulieu 107½ marks (£71 13*s.* 4*d.*) to enable him to attend as the King's messenger to the general Chapter, and a further 50 marks (£33 6*s.* 8*d.*) for him and his house on his return, as the King's gift; the other, dated 22nd January, 1207–8, bidding the payment from the treasury to the bishop of Winchester of 500 marks (£333 6*s.* 8*d.*) for the building of the church of the monks of Beaulieu.[2]

The total of the sums thus given for the building was nearly 1,000 marks, or actually £615 7*s.* 6*d.*

It is not until five years have elapsed (during which England was under the Interdict) that any further grants from the King appear on the Close Roll.

By writ dated 30th June, 1213, the treasurer and chamberlains of the Exchequer are directed to deliver "to the guardians of our work of Beaulieu 400 marks (£266 13*s.* 4*d.*) this side of Michaelmas, and 500 marks (£333 6*s.* 8*d.*) between Michaelmas and Easter following for our work of Beaulieu." The first payment of 400 marks

[1] Close Roll, 6 John. *m.* 5.

Rex Baronibus etc. Computate Willelmo de Cornhuⁿ clerico nostro in exitibus Episcopatus Wintonie ducentas et quinquaginta marcas quas pacavit Monachis Cisterciensis ordinis de Bello Loco de testamento G. quondam Wintoñ Episcopi anno etc. vjᵗᵒ. Teste me ipso apud Sutton vj. die Aprilis.

[2] Close Roll, 7 John. *m.* 16.

Rex W. Thesaurario. etc. Mandamus vobis quod sicut nos diligitis statim visis literis istis omni occasione et dilacione prepositis liberetis Abbati de Bello Loco C. et vij. marcas et dimidium; ad eundum in nuncium nostrum ad capitulum: et liberetis ei L. marcas que ei et domui sue a retro sunt de dono nostro. Teste me ipso apud Dorcestriam xxvj. die Augusti.

Close Roll, 9 John. *m.* 9.

Rex W. Thesaurario et G. et R. Camerariis etc. Liberate de Thesauro domino Episcopo Wintoniensi quingentas marcas ad edificacionem ecclesie Monachorum de Bello Loco. Teste me ipso apud Lamehitham xxij. die Januarij anno regni nostri ixᵒ. per ipsum Regem.

is not to be delayed lest the work should stand for want of money.[1]

On the 4th November, 1214, among a large number of payments ordered to be made from the Exchequer is one of £100 to be paid to Anestasius, prior of Beaulieu, for the work of the church of Beaulieu, through the bishop of Winchester.[2]

Another writ dated 29th January, 1214–15, directs the chancellor that "without delay you let the monks of Beaulieu who are the bearers of these presents have what we have elsewhere enjoined for the work of their abbey"; probably by the writ of 4th November already quoted.

Two further grants from King John are entered during the last part of his reign. The first is a direction dated 9th April, 1215, to the treasurer and chamberlains of the Exchequer to pay, amongst other things, sums of 50 marks and of £15 "to the monks of Beaulieu *ad reparacionem*[3] of their church."[4] The second is a writ issued by Peter, bishop of Winchester, as regent during the King's absence abroad, dated 4th September, 1214, directing the officers of the Exchequer to pay to brother Aszo £100 from the royal treasure for the work at Beaulieu: a further point of interest is that this writ is dated from the abbey itself.[5]

These additional grants amounted in all to £848 6*s.* 8*d.*, making a total contribution by the founder of £1,463 14*s.* 2*d.*

[1] Close Roll, 15 John, pt. ii. *m.* 9.
Rex W. Thesaurario, G. et R. Camerariis. etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro custodibus operacionis nostre de Bello Loco quadringentas marcas citra instans festum Michaelis anno regni nostri xv°. et quingentas marcas inter idem festum sancti Michaelis et Pascha proximo sequens anno eodem, ad operacionem nostram de Bello Loco. Et primam liberacionem de quadringentis marcis ita maturetis ne operacio illa pro defectu denariorum remaneat. Teste me ipso apud Stok. Episcopi xxx. die Junii. per dominum P. Wyntoñ Episcopum.

[2] Close Roll, 16 John, pt. ii. *m.* 18.
Et liberate Anestasio Priori de Bello Loco centum libras ad operacionem ecclesie de Bello Loco per eundem Episcopum. [Peter, bishop of Winchester.]

[3] The word *reparatio* in documents of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries seems to be used sometimes rather in the sense of *preparatio* than as signifying "repair" in its modern sense. [W. H. St. J. H.]

[4] Close Roll, 16 John, pt. ii. *m.* 5.
Rex W. Thesaurario et G. et R. Camerariis, etc. . . . Liberate Monachis de Bello Loco L. marcas ad reparacionem ecclesie sue. Teste me ipso apud Oxoniam. ix. die Aprilis.

[5] Close Roll, 16 John, pt. iii. *m.* 2.
P. etc. dilectis sibi W. domini Regis Thesaurario et G. et R. Camerariis salutem. Liberate fratri Aszoni centum libras de thesauro domini Regis ad operacionem Belli Loci Regis. Teste me ipso apud Bellum Locum Regis iiij^to^ die Septembris.

King John himself was certainly thrice at Beaulieu: on 19th May, 1206; on 18th December, 1212; and on 19th–20th March, 1212–13.

After the death of the founder in October, 1216, the grants from the Exchequer to the building of the abbey ceased for some years, and it is not until November, 1220, in the 5th year of Henry III.'s reign, that another writ appears on the Close Roll, directing payment to the abbat of Beaulieu of 50 marks of the King's gift for the work (*ad operacionem*) of the church of Beaulieu.[1]

In the same year letters patent were issued on the 26th January, 1220–1, informing the abbat of Kirkstall that the King had assigned to the abbat and monks of Beaulieu £90 due yearly from him to the Exchequer, from the farm of the manors of Collingham and Bardsey, to be received every year from him as long as the King please, for the work of their church.[2]

In the year following, by letters patent dated 21st January, 1221–2, the King made another such grant of £10 yearly, due from the bailiwick of Henry of Lyndhurst to John of Monmouth, which sum was to be paid over every year, while the King pleased, to the work of the church of Beaulieu.[3]

Writs relating to this yearly grant of £100 to the

[1] Close Roll, 5 Henry III. pt. i. *m.* 20.

De liberacione. Rex E. Thesaurario et F. et R. Camerariis salutem. Liberate de thesauro nostro Abbati Belli loci L. marcas de dono nostro ad operacionem ecclesie Belli loci. Teste H. de Burgo Justiciario nostro apud Westmonasterium xxiij. die Novembris anno etc. v°. per eundem et Episcopum Wintoñ.

[2] Patent Roll, 5 Henry III. [1221.] *m.* 6.

De quater xx et x libris assignatis monachis Belli Loci Regis.

Rex dilecto sibi in X°. abbati de Kirkestall, salutem. Sciatis quod assignavimus abbati et monachis Belli Loci Regis quaterviginti et x libras quas nobis debetis ad scaccarium nostrum de firma de Colingeham et Bardese, recipiendas a vobis singulis annis quamdiu nobis placuerit *ad operationem ecclesie sue.* Et ideo vobis mandamus quod predictis abbati et monachis de predictis quatervigiuti et x libris, sicut predictum est, singulis annis respondeatis. Teste H. etc. apud Westmonasterium xxvj. die Januarij, anno regni nostri v. Per eundem et consilium domini regis.

[3] Patent Roll, 6 Henry III. [1222.] *m.* 5.

De x libris assignatis abbati et monachis Belli Loci.

Rex Johanni de Monemuwe salutem. Sciatis quod assignavimus abbati et monachis Belli Loci x libras, quas Henricus de Lindhurst nobis debet per annum de baillia vestra recipiendas a vobis singulis annis, quamdiu nobis placuerit, ad operationem ecclesie sue. Et ideo vobis mandamus quod predictis abbati et monachis de predictis x libris, singulis annis, sicut predictum est, respondeatis. Teste H. etc. apud Westñ. xxj. die Januarij anno eodem. Per eundem et consilium domini regis.

abbey are entered for several successive years on the Close Rolls.

Among the writs of this period is one of somewhat peculiar interest. It is dated 17th October, 1224, and is addressed to the bailiffs of the port of Southampton in these terms :

> The King to the bailiffs of the port of Southampton greeting. Durand the mason has showed us that when he came into England at the bidding of the Abbot of Beaulieu to work there, you arrested twenty-one *burellos* of his which he brought with him into England. And therefore we command you, that if the abbot aforesaid will warrant that the aforesaid Durand came into England at his bidding, as is aforesaid, and that the aforesaid *burellos* are Durand's, then you cause them to be delivered without delay.[1]

What was the exact nature of the *burelli* which Durand brought over, and for which he apparently refused to pay the customs duty, is uncertain. The more important fact disclosed by the writ is the employment of a foreign mason at Beaulieu. That the church was planned by a Frenchman there can be no doubt, but owing to its total destruction it is impossible to say what part of it Durand may have been sent for to do. There is nothing in the remains of the monastic buildings suggestive of foreign influence.

In 1227, that is thirteen years after the foundation, according to the annals of the sister house of Waverley, "the monks of Beaulieu entered into their new church with great joy on the vigil of the Assumption of the most blessed Mary," that is, on 14th August.[2]

It, of course, by no means follows that the entry into the church implies the completion of the building, but merely that some part of it, probably the presbytery or eastern limb, was sufficiently advanced to be used.[3]

[1] Close Roll, 8 Henry III. pt. i. *m.* 2. Rex Ballivis portus Suhamtoñ salutem. Ostendit nobis Durandus Cementarius quod cum veniret in Angliam ad mandatum Abbatis de Bello Loco ut ibi operaretur vos arestastis xxj. burellos de suis quos secum tulit in Angliam. Et ideo vobis mandamus quod si predictus Abbas warantizet predictum Durandum ad mandatum suum venisse in Angliam, sicut predictum est, et predictos burellos esse ipsius Durandi : tunc eos sine dilacione deliberari faciatis. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium, xvij. die Octobris.

[2] 1227. Monachi Belli Loci Regis intraverunt in novam ecclesiam cum magno gaudio in vigilia Assumptionis beatissimæ Mariæ (*i.e.* 14 August). *Annales Monastici* (Rolls Series 36), ii. 304.

[3] The same expression "intraverunt in novam ecclesiam" is used by the Waverley chronicler in connexion with his own church when the eastern parts and the quire were finished. *Ibid.* ii. 123.

That the church at Beaulieu was not finished is shown by a writ dated 24th May, 1233, six years after it was begun to be used, directing Peter of Rievaulx to let the abbat of Beaulieu have twenty oaks in the forest of Savernake, and twenty oaks in the forest of Bere, as a gift from the King "for the work of the church."[1]

The finishing of the building is probably fixed by its dedication on 15 Kal. Julii, that is, 17th June, 1246, by William, bishop of Winchester. There were also present the bishops of Bath, Exeter and Chichester, the King, the Queen, and their children, and many nobles.

The Waverley annalist records a curious incident that followed the dedication. The King's eldest son Edward, a boy of seven years old, fell sick and was obliged with his mother to stay nearly three weeks in the Abbey, contrary to the Statutes of the Cistercian Order, which forbad any woman staying the night. As a consequence, at the next visitation the prior and the cellarer were deposed from office "because by their permission this transgression seemed to be supported; and also because at the time of the dedication they had allowed meat to secular persons, contrary to the discipline of the Order."[2]

Before passing to the story of the buildings, attention may be called to an interesting letter which, although

[1] Close Roll, 17 Henry III. *m.* 9.

De quercubus datis. Mandatum est Petro de Revall quod habere faciat abbati de Bello Loco xx. quercus in foresta de Savernake et xx. quercus in foresta de Bera ad operationem ecclesie sue de dono Regis. Teste Rege apud Theok'. xxiiij. die Maii. *Close Rolls of the reign of Henry III.* A.D. 1231–1234 (London, 1905), 222.

[2] 1246. Dedicata est ecclesia Belli Loci Regis xv. Kal. Julii a domino Willelmo Wintoniensi episcopo, præsentibus venerabilibus Bathoniensi, Exoniensi, Cicestrensi episcopis, præsente etiam domino rege Anglorum Henrico quarto cum regina et liberis et magnatibus multis.

Peracta dedicatione, primogenitus regis, Edwardus scilicet, infirmatus est, cum quo regina mater ejus Alienora fere per tres hebdomadas in eadem domo contra Cistercienses ordinis statuta pernoctando perendinavit. Quam ob causam in proxima visitatione sequenti, prior et cellerarius depositi sunt, qua eorum permissione hæc transgressio videbatur fulciri; insuper et quia tempore dedicacionis sæcularibus contra ordinis disciplinam carnes administrabantur.—*Annales Monastici* (Rolls Series 36), ii. 337.

Matthew Paris puts the dedication as taking place in 1249:

Eodemque anno abbas de Bello Loco, Ordinis Cisterciensis, ecclesiam suam, quam rex Johannes a fundamentis construxerat presentibus rege Henrico III. et comite Ricardo fratre ejus et multis aliis magnatibus cum prelatis sollempniter fecit dedicari. Cujus fundatio, simul cum alio memorabili, quod idem rex J. fecisse commemoratur, facto, animæ suæ multum creditur subvenisse. Quod huic paginæ duximus annotandum. M. Paris, *Historia Anglorum* (Rolls Series 44), iii. 63.

printed by Rymer in his *Foedera* ninety years ago, seems to be little known.[1]

It was written, probably in 1226, by King Henry III. to the Pope, Honorius III., and is in the following terms :

Be it known to your holiness that John sometime King of England, our father, of serene memory, founded the house of Beaulieu, as is known to many in England ; therefore in the same house he chose his burying place after the common death, and as it is said he solemnly vowed this ; but afterwards, in the time of the disturbance of England, a very serious strife having arisen between him and his barons, he died in remote parts, so that his body could not be brought to the said house, but the bishop and monks of Worcester, by the grace of hospitality, put the royal clod in their monastery. Since it seems likely, that if in his own house which he founded he could lie buried in his corporal presence, as he also himself disposed in his lifetime, the devotion of the brethren would be more frequently and more abundantly aroused to pray for him their common lord, and profit as we believe no less his aforesaid salvation. It might be very pleasing to you therefore that his vow might be fulfilled on this part, since we are bound to procure his salvation with the Lord in everything that we can. Wherefore also we beg your holiness that you deign to receive the petition of us and the brethren of Beaulieu aforesaid, which by the bearer of these presents they send to the feet of your holiness, for the bringing back of the body of the aforesaid King and our father, if it please you indulgently.

Whatever answer there was to this epistle it does not seem to have been preserved, and as King John's mortal remains still rest within the cathedral church of Worcester, the request of King Henry and the monks of

[1] *De corpore Johannis quondam Regis Angliæ ad domum Belli-loci, quam idem Rex fundaverat, deferendo.*

Domino Pape H. eadem gracia, etc. Innotescat sanctitati vestre quod serene memorie I. quondam Rex Anglie, pater noster, domum Belliloci fundaverit, sicut pluribus notum est in Anglia ; in eadem domo igitur sepulturam elegit post fata communia, et, ut dicitur, hoc sollemniter vovit ; set postmodum, tempore perturbacionis Angliæ, orta gravissima simultate inter ipsum et barones suos, in remotis partibus diem clausit extremum, ita quod non potuit corpus ejus ad dictam domum deferri ; set Wigornienses episcopus et monachi regiam glebam, hospitalitatis gracia, in suo monasterio collocarunt. Siquidem verisimile videtur, quod si in domo propria quam fundavit, corporali presencia jaceret humatus, sicut etiam ipse disposuit in vita sua, fratrum devotio frequencius et habundacius excitaretur, ad exorandum pro eo communem Dominum ; et prosit, ut credimus, ejus non modicum predicte saluti.

Placeret igitur vobis admodum, ut ipsius votum adimpleretur in hac parte, cum teneamur salutem ipsius in omnibus, quibus possumus, apud Dominum procurare. Unde et supplicamus beatitudini vestre, quatinus petitionem nostram et fratrum predicti Belliloci quam per latorem presencium ad pedes sanctitatis vestre transmittunt, pro corpore prefati Regis et patris nostri repetendo, benigne, si placet, admittere dignemini.

[Ex orig. in Turr. Lond. in Lib. cui. tit. Litteræ Regum, etc.]

T. Rymer, *Foedera, Litteræ, et Acta Publica* (London 1816) I. i. 192.

Beaulieu was apparently met with a negative. It is, however, possible that Pope Honorius III., to whom the letter was written, died just before or immediately after it reached its destination, and that it was passed over or overlooked by his successor.

The history of Beaulieu Abbey so far as its buildings are concerned is a complete blank from its dedication to its suppression.

Its clear annual value in 26 Henry VIII. was reckoned at £326 13*s.* 2¾*d.*

The abbey was surrendered by Thomas Stevens the abbat, a time-serving wretch, and twenty other monks on 2nd April 29 Henry VIII. (1538). John Husee, writing to Lord Lisle (a natural son of Edward IV.) a week later, tells him that Bewley is suppressed and most of the land still in the King's hands, but the goods with the park and others are given to Mr. Wriothesley.

It was not, however, until 29th July following that the site, etc. of the abbey was granted in fee by letters patent to Thomas Wriothesley.

The greater part of the buildings seem thereupon to have been pulled down and the materials sold, apparently to be used in the new blockhouses then in course of construction on the adjacent seacoasts.[1]

The frater, however, was spared, through its conversion into a parish church for the numerous dependents of the abbey, and the cellarer's building forming the range west of the cloister was at any rate begun to be converted into a house. The outer and great gatehouses were also spared; all else was razed to the ground.

The site remained in possession of the Wriothesleys until 1671, when it passed by the marriage of Elizabeth, dowager countess of Northumberland, daughter and co-heir of Thomas Wriothesley, fourth Earl of Southampton, with Ralph, Lord Montagu of Boughton, who was created Duke of Montagu in 1705. The property descended from

[1] "1539. Certificate of Thomas Kanner, clerk, surveyor of the King's works, John Multon, master mason, and John Russell, master carpenter, to the lord Admiral, concerning the making of two blockhouses at Est Cowe and West Cow in the Isle of Wight."

Accounts for "the carriage of stuff, taking down stone at the monasteries of Beaulieu and Quarre" etc. *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the reign of Henry VIII.* XIV. i. 416 (No. 899).

him to the Dukes of Buccleugh, and finally to Lord Henry John Montagu-Douglas-Scott, second son of the fifth Duke, who was created in 1885 Baron Montagu of Beaulieu, and died in 1905.

Some thirty years ago excavations were made on the site of the church by the Rev. F. W. Baker, but no record of them was published. The supposed plan of the church was laid out with gravel in the turf, but was so obviously inaccurate that the late Lord Montagu of Beaulieu was induced to make further investigation of the site under the direction of the writers during Easter week, 1900. The result was to clear up definitely the eastern part of the church and some minor points. This was followed by a series of further excavations extending over some years, so that at the present time all the chief buildings have been examined and planned as far as possible. The site of the kitchen, warming-house and south end of the dorter being within the parish churchyard their walls have mostly been destroyed by graves, while the buildings of the outer court, now covered by gardens, seem to have utterly perished.

The sites of the buildings, where possible, have been treated in a way worthy of imitation by owners of other historical monuments. The foundations, being in most cases all that remained, and therefore undesirable to be left exposed, have been marked out in the turf, and the spaces originally occupied by the walls they supported covered with white gravel so that the extent of the buildings may at once be seen.

The Precinct.

The site of every monastic house was enclosed by a boundary wall or dyke, and within the precinct thus formed were placed all the buildings of the abbey. Even "the stables of the horses must be placed within the circuit of our abbeys, and no house for habitation may be built without the gate, unless for animals, on account of avoiding the dangers of souls. If there be any, let


BEAULIEU ABBEY

them fall; moreover, let all the gates of abbeys be without the bounds."[1]

The precinct at Beaulieu embraced roughly a square of about 58 acres, and the enclosing wall is traceable on all but the east side. It is of the same nature throughout, $2\frac{3}{4}$ feet thick, built of rubble with an oversailing course at 10 feet from the ground, and a gabled coping of small stones. It exists in two detached lengths on the north, for nearly 600 feet on the west, and for two lengths of 750 feet and 550 feet respectively on the south. The precinct is further protected on the west and south by the tidal river Exe; on the west this still washes the wall, but on the south there is now a high road which represents the old quay, still so called near the entrance gate, for landing and shipping merchandize. (Plate I.)

The main entrance, and so far as can now be seen the only one, was on the south, but whether it was approached by a bridge over the river as at present is doubtful. The outer gatehouse in the precinct wall gave on to a small lane, on the east side of which was the mill and at the north end the great gatehouse of the abbey. Inside the great gatehouse was the outer court, in which would be the guest houses, stables, brewhouse, malthouse, and workshops. In the middle of the precinct were the cloister and its surrounding buildings, with the church on the north, and the infirmary to the east. Eastward of these are two small fish ponds fed by a brook which enters the precinct at the north-east angle.[2] From the upper pond was taken the great drain of the abbey, which after passing westward beneath the buildings, turned due south and emptied into the river. This drain remains perfect under the east lawn of Palace House, and is $2\frac{3}{4}$ feet wide, with a semicircular arched top springing at 18 inches from the bottom of the drain, which is flagged with rough stones.

North-west of the church have been found indications of inferior buildings. At some 350 feet to the north of the

[1] "Stabula equorum intra Abbatiarum ambitum collocentur, nec extra portam Monasterii aliqua domus ad habitandum construatur, nisi animalium tantum, propter cavenda pericula animarum. Si quæ fuerint, cadant; omnes autem portæ Abbatiarum sint extra terminos." Cistercian Statutes, Ch. i. Vide *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, ix. 341.

[2] Remains of the sluice from the bottom pond, at the head of the outlet to the river, have been found.

church is a barn-like structure called the "wine press," and the fields to the north-east of it are still called "the vineyards."

Southward of the claustral buildings is an open space, in which were found the foundations of a small house, perhaps one of the dwellings of the sanctuary men.

Beaulieu is unique among English Cistercian abbeys in having both the outer and inner gatehouses remaining perfect, the former being the lodge and the latter part of Palace House, the residence of the present owner of the abbey.

These and the other buildings found in the precinct will be taken in order before describing those surrounding the cloister.

The Outer Gatehouse.

The outer gatehouse (Plate II) has its front in line with the precinct wall, and consists of a passage 12 feet wide and $14\frac{1}{4}$ feet deep. The outer doorway has a single chamfered member with segmental head, and was merely protected by stout doors in two leaves. The inner side had a similar archway but without any doors. In the east wall is a small pointed doorway to the porter's lodge. Over this gateway is a room in the roof, which is steep pitched with gables over the archways, and is lighted at either end by three small lancet windows, one above and two below.[1]

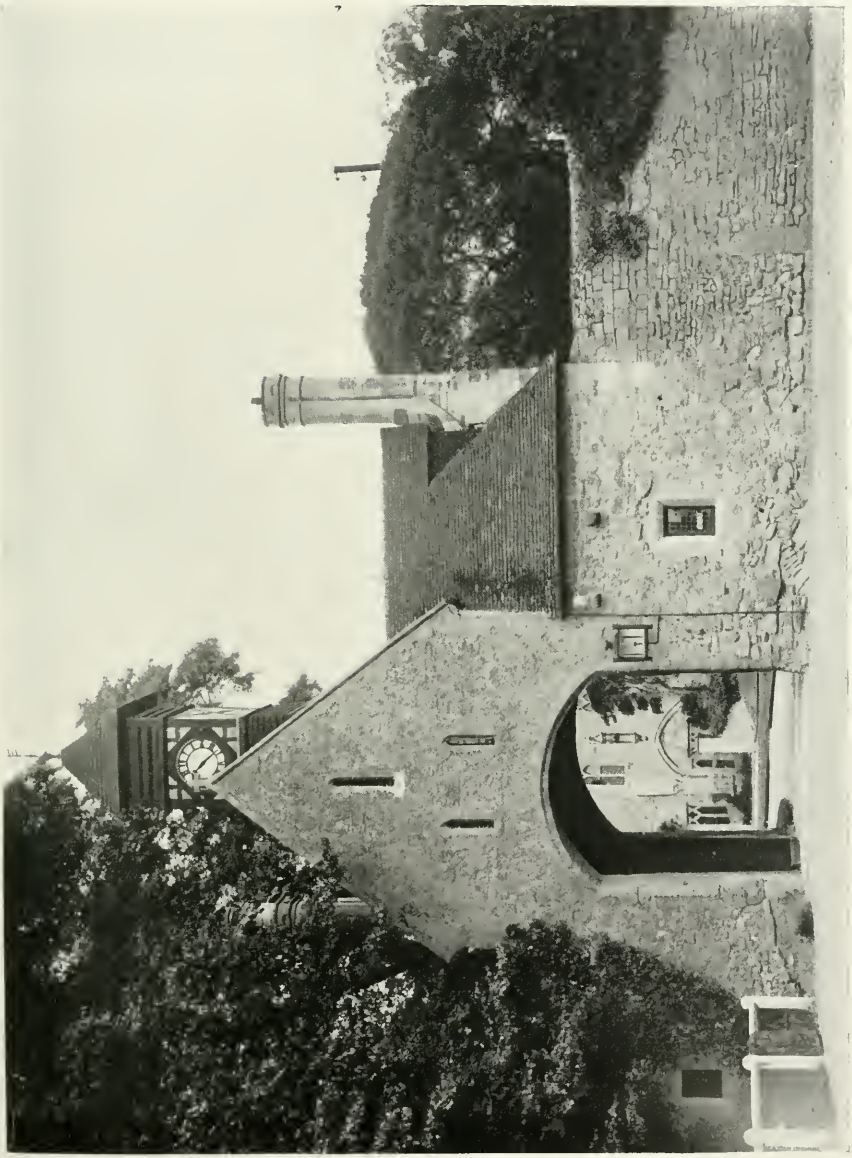
The porter's room is on the east,[2] but has been much altered, the original having been covered by a pentise roof against the east side of the gateway, of which the weathering still remains. There are two corbels high up on the outside of the south wall, and beneath is the arched head of a drain just showing above the ground.

The whole gateway is slightly later than the original work of the abbey, being built on the top of a culvert in connexion with the mill, and the precinct wall seems to have been brought out of the straight to meet it.

[1] This room is now occupied by the works of a modern clock which is contained in a turret on the roof.

[2] There is now a corresponding room on the west, but it is quite modern.

To face page 142.



BEAULIEU ABBEY. THE OUTER GATEHOUSE.

From the outer to the great gate was a lane 200 feet long. The site of this, now part of the gardens of Palace House, was some years ago excavated and numerous remains of buildings were found, which fortunately were carefully planned. The lane itself was nowhere wider than 34 feet, and was bounded on the west by a wall, and on the east by a long range of buildings, from which a wall parallel to that on the west continued up to the great gate. On the west side, just within the outer gate, remains the parapet of a sparling between two culverts, to be described shortly, and at 54 feet from the gate the old precinct wall was found running westward. To the north of this a small late building had been added, for the erection of which part of the west wall of the court was removed.

There was a wall crossing the lane at 50 feet from the great gatehouse, and between them on the west side was a passage covered by a pitched roof; the weathering for this, with a trefoiled terminal, remains in the wall of the gatehouse, together with the toothing for the eastern wall on the western buttress.

The Mill and Garner.

The long building on the east side of the lane contained the mill at the south end.

The mill was 42 feet wide by 53 feet from north to south, and divided by a cross wall into two chambers. The south wall still stands as high as the eaves and formed part of the precinct wall. In line with it at each end are buttresses with chamfered plinths and steep weatherings, above which are the corbels and kneelers of the gable. There were two similar buttresses 16 feet apart on the south side, which have been destroyed, and behind them internally are corbels to take the framing of the roof. In line with the north and cross wall were also buttresses of which the plinths were found similar to those at the south end. In each chamber of the mill was an undershot wheel, driven by water taken in culverts from the river above. The northern culvert was 12 feet wide and the southern 9 feet, and both were found

perfect with arched tops. The outlets to the east were formed by two culverts in line with those to the west, but only 6 feet in width. The northern had an extra outlet 3 feet wide on the south side, and the culvert beyond was widened to 10 feet. Between the two outlets just outside the east wall was found a pipe formed of hollow trees.

All the constructions within the mill seem to have been of wood, considerable remains of which were found, though in a decayed state.

The only Cistercian mill that remains in England is the one still in use at Fountains, which, though much narrower than Beaulieu, was arranged with two chambers each containing wheels. The use of two wheels was apparently for grinding and sawing respectively. At Clairvaux the wheels for these operations were contained in two separate mills.

At Beaulieu, the side walls of the mill were continued northward for at least 110 feet to form a building of uncertain use. On the west side, at 34 feet from the mill, was a projection 19 feet square, which had a buttress at its south-west angle, and immediately to the south there seems to have been an entrance into the main building. In the east wall, almost opposite this, was a doorway from without 6 feet wide. Crossing the building almost in line with the north wall of the projection was a thick wall, apparently original. At 32 feet to the south of this was another cross wall, which was a later addition, and in the south-west angle of the chamber thus formed was a fireplace, inserted in the original entrance, and further north, at the back of the projection, were some foundations which seem like those of another fireplace. This room and the one to the south of it were paved with rough tiles.

Along the west side of the mill as far as the projection was a pentise, of which the outer wall was found.

The projection in question perhaps contained steps to an upper floor, and the whole block north of the mill was possibly a guest-house for the reception of tramps and other such folk, or a garner for corn.



BEAULIEU ABBEY. SOUTH SIDE OF THE GREAT GATEHOUSE.
Before "Restoration," from a photograph by the late Mr. W. J. C. Moens, F.S.A.

The Great Gatehouse.

The inner or great gatehouse has since the Suppression formed part of a dwelling-house. It consists of an outer porch and an inner hall with side bays and two parallel chapels above.

The main arch of entrance is pointed and of two members, with double ogee mouldings, of which the inner dies into the outer at the springing. (Plate III.) West of this was a small doorway for foot passengers, but this has been destroyed, except the lowest stones of the jambs, by the insertion of a post-Suppression window.[1]

The outer porch is 17½ feet deep and 38 feet wide, and covered by one square vault in the middle bay and by a narrower on each side. The vaulting, which is a modern restoration, is unusually rich, and has wall, cross, diagonal, ridge, and two intermediate ribs, all moulded, but without bosses at the intersections. The springers and wall ribs only are original, and these rest on semi-octagonal columns with heavy moulded capitals and bases; the corner columns are round.

The west wall has a small segmental headed doorway to some destroyed building on that side. The east wall has, high up, a single lancet window with wide splays.[2] The north side has, opposite the entrance, a fine pointed arched doorway of two members leading to the inner hall, and the bay towards the west has a smaller doorway of similar character for foot passengers.

The inner hall is precisely similar to the outer porch, except that it is 47 feet in width, through the eastern side bay being of the same size as the middle bay. The floor of this bay was at a higher level than the rest of the hall, and seems to have been parted off to form the porter's lodge, as remains of a fireplace were found in its north wall. In the south-west angle are the remains (now walled up) of a small doorway to a destroyed vice, contained in a projecting turret, now much altered, in the middle of the west side; this vice led to the upper floor.

[1] This window in turn has been removed and substituted by one in "the Decorated style"; a corresponding window being inserted to the east and the entrance arch filled with a bay window at the same time.

[2] This has been renewed externally, and an ogee trefoiled head introduced.

The upper floor was entirely occupied by the gatehouse chapel. This is not the usual position for that building, but one is so placed at Whalley. At Meaux, though another gatehouse chapel existed, one was begun over the gatehouse by abbat Adam of Skerne (1310–39) but never finished, and so much as was built was pulled down by his successor.[1]

At Beaulieu the gatehouse chapel is really formed of two chapels side by side, agreeing with the divisions below. The entrance by the vice already mentioned was in the south-west angle of the northern part, and has a moulded and cusped arch.[2] It is probable that there was another entrance of more importance, either in the north or the west wall, gained by a straight stair from the outer court, but if so it has left no trace. The east window of the northern chapel is of three lights with heavy reticulated tracery under a square head. (Plate IV.) The present tracery is not original, but copied from the old.[3] In the south wall is a small trefoiled headed piscina.

The southern chapel is separated from the northern by two arches, each of two double ogee members, the inner of which dies into the outer at the springing. The middle pier[4] and parts of both arches are new, owing to the original having been destroyed by the insertion of a fireplace. The east window is of three lights filled with modern flowing tracery (Plate IV), which is said to have been copied from fragments of the original found in the blocking of the window. In the south side wall is a trefoiled ogee-headed piscina, with rosettes in the spandrels and little paterae on the hollow of the chamfer, under a moulded cornice, and there is an almery to the west with rebates for doors. The two windows in the south wall are modern, but appear to take the place of two original windows of the same shape which had been destroyed by the insertion of two sash windows. The west window is earlier in date than the rest of the work,

[1] *Chronica de Melsa* (Rolls Series 43), iii. 36.

[2] Opening out of this vice at the chapel level is another but smaller vice up to the roofs.

[3] This is now preserved in the lay brothers' dorter and is in sound condition, though slightly broken.

[4] This was originally a repetition of the respond, though now the outer order is carried by a column with moulded capital and base.



BEAULIEU ABBEY. EAST SIDE OF THE GREAT GATEHOUSE.

and consists of three lancet lights under a moulded arch with shafts to the jambs and mullions.

Externally the south front of the gatehouse has in the middle the main arch of entrance, the label of which is carried up to support the pedestal of a richly canopied niche,[1] probably for an image of Our Lady and Child. Flanking the archway are bold buttresses, resting on moulded plinths, with splayed angles having trefoiled stops at the top, and capped with steep weatherings. The wall is finished by a corbel table formed of human and grotesque heads, above which are two gables of post-Suppression work having three-light windows in each. The corbel table continues on the east and west sides, but is there surmounted by a low parapet. (Plate IV.)

Of the buildings usually contained in the outer court of the abbey not a vestige remains save a few detached foundations of inferior buildings at its north end, and although the open ground west of the northern end of the *cellarium* has been trenched, nothing was found there.

The principal group of buildings occupied the east side of the great court. On the north side of the cloister was the church. On the east side were the vestry, chapter-house, parlour, and sub-vaults, above all of which was the dorter of the monks, with a projecting reredorter on the east. On the south side were the warming-house, frater, and kitchen. On the west was the long *cellarium*, containing the lay brothers' buildings, but between it and the cloister was a narrow court or lane. Eastward of these claustral buildings was the monks' infirmary, consisting of a large hall, a chapel, a kitchen, and the misericord.

The Church.

The church was usually one of the first buildings begun upon the foundation of an abbey, and at Beaulieu there are a few documentary notices of its erection. It was at first pushed on with moderate rapidity, during which time various grants are recorded on the Close Rolls (see *ante*).

[1] The niche is unfortunately only a copy of the original, which has been preserved, and though mutilated is in sound condition.

And in 1227, on the vigil of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the monks entered their new church with great joy.

After this date the convent seems to have been left to complete the work by itself, as no further grants from the royal treasury are recorded, and it was not until 1246 that the church was ready to be hallowed.

The time the church of Beaulieu took to build, considering it was of royal foundation, seems excessive. The new church of Waverley, which was a very poor house, was 28 years in building, so far as to enable the monks to enter their quire, though 47 years more elapsed before the whole was finished. At Hayles, where the church was equal in size to that at Waverley,[1] it was finished enough to allow the monks to enter the quire five years after the foundation, though, of course, the nave was not done till later.

The church at Beaulieu covered a greater area than any other Cistercian church in this country.[2] It was 336 feet in length by 186 feet across the transepts, and in plan was unlike any English example, though almost the same as that at Clairvaux. It consisted of a presbytery having an apse with an aisle continued round it, and radiating chapels beyond; a north transept with east and west aisles and a galilee to the north; a south transept with eastern aisle; and a nave with aisles. There was probably a low tower over the crossing.

The whole of the building was systematically removed to the foundations by Thomas Wriothesley after the Suppression, and nothing now remains standing except the wall of the nave aisle next the cloister and one course of stones in the angle formed by the presbytery and north transept. The foundations, however, of the whole church remain, except of the extreme east end and part of the north wall of the nave aisle (which have been destroyed by a sunk ditch and a saw pit respectively), and have been

[1] This was before the new work for the reception of the shrine of the Holy Blood was begun.

[2] This was 30,857 square feet internally, and the other largest churches were:

	sq. ft.
Fountains ..	28,946
Byland	27,980
Rievaulx ..	23,952
Hayles	23,656
Waverley ..	23,577

completely traced by excavation. The main arcades were supported upon sleeper walls, but though search was made no impress in mortar of the pier bases was found upon them as at Waverley.

The presbytery, with the exception of the bottom course of ashlar of the plinth in the second bay next the north transept, has disappeared from above ground. It was of three bays with a semicircular apse, and was 75 feet long by 32½ feet wide. Round about it was an aisle 12 feet wide, beyond which were ten chapels 11 feet deep. The sleeper wall for the piers of the main apse remains, but only the beginning of the foundations of the other two concentric walls, the rest having been destroyed by a sunk fence surrounding a modern house to the east. Fortunately, on the north side, the start of the dividing wall between the first and second radiating chapels was found, which shows that there were six radiating chapels in all.

In the middle of the presbytery, at about 6 feet from the centre of the apse and therefore just in front of the high altar, was found some years ago a body wrapped in lead without a stone coffin.

In the western bay of the south aisle was a lavatory on the north side (as at Hayles and Jervaulx, and behind the quire stalls at Roche and Fountains), the drain of which was found crossing the westernmost chapel.

The north transept is perhaps the most curious feature of the church, and the arrangement of the superstructure as indicated by the foundations is somewhat uncertain. The transept was 62 feet long by 32½ feet wide, and of four bays with aisles on both the east and west sides.[1] The divisions of the aisle bays are indicated by sleeper walls.

Northward of the transept proper is another bay, which appears to have been a porch or galilee extending across both aisles and forming part of the structure of the transept, the main walls of which included this porch.[2] Above the porch the middle division was doubtless a

[1] At Clairvaux the western aisle was divided into chapels similar to the east, but at Citeaux and Byland it was left open.

[2] At Clairvaux there was a low porch at the end of the north transept opening into the cemetery, and called, from its being used for burials, "la cimitière des Nobles."

gallery opening to the church, like the earlier examples in the Benedictine churches of Winchester and Ely. The whole arrangement is so unusual, but so similar to Citeaux, that a plan of that transept to the same scale is given as a parallel. (Plate V.)

Externally the divisions of the transept and galilee were marked by bold buttresses, and there was a turret containing a vice on the north front in line with the main east wall.

The south transept was of the same size as the north, but had only an eastern aisle, also divided into chapels. The west wall was 12 feet thick and had in it the night stair to the dorter. The only other example of this unusual arrangement at present known to the writers is at Hayles.[1] Beyond the transept southwards in a corresponding position to the galilee were the vestry and library. As the wall south of these is of unusual thickness and the buttresses to the east are of similar size to those of the church, the upper works of the transept probably extended over them.[2] If this were so the structural transept would measure no less than 216 feet over all.

The nave was 188 feet long by 32½ feet wide at the east and 34 feet at the west, and of nine bays. The absence of any buttresses at the west end in line with the main walls suggests that there was a porch or galilee across the front, although no remains of such have been found.[3]

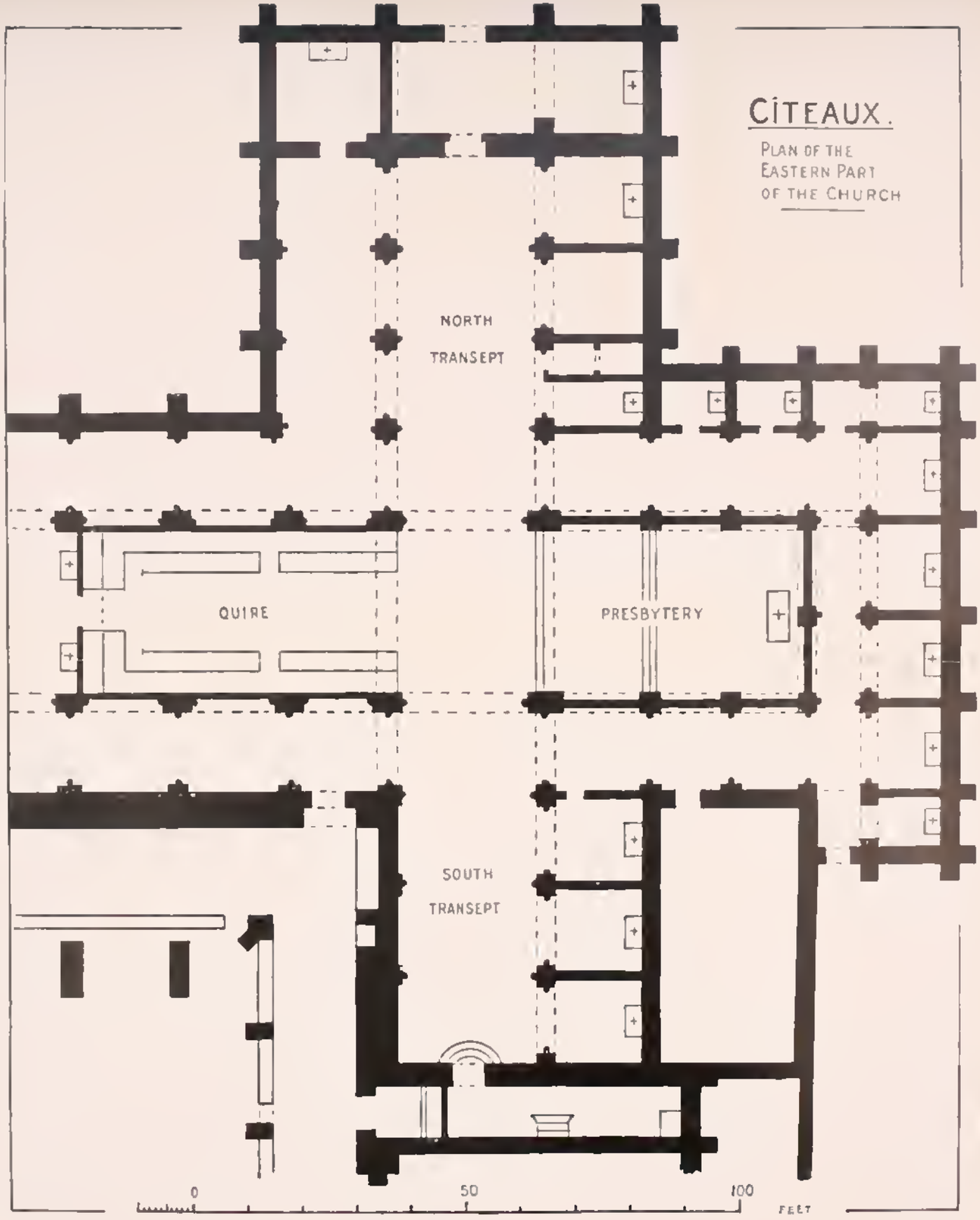
A few fragments of the original pavement were found in the fifth bay, and a considerable amount at the west end. This latter was arranged in three divisions by bands running east and west, which terminated at 25 feet from the west wall in a cross band. This may indicate the western limit of the quire of the lay brothers. The middle division extended into the recess of the west door, showing that the doorway was of no great depth on the outside, but 13 feet in width.

In the middle of the first bay was a rough foundation 4 feet wide. This must have supported the *pulpitum*,

[1] The usual Cistercian arrangement was an open staircase against the west wall of the transept.

[2] This arrangement, though not known elsewhere in a Cistercian church, occurs in those of Austin canons at Hexham, Lilleshall and Oxford.

[3] At Citeaux there was a western galilee as well as that across the front of the north transept.


CITEAUX.
PLAN OF THE
EASTERN PART
OF THE CHURCH
NORTH
TRANSEPT
QUIRE
PRESBYTERY
SOUTH
TRANSEPT
0
50
100
FEET

though its position is further east than might have been expected, as the quire would thus have completely occupied the space under the crossing and apparently extended one bay into the eastern arm of the church.

The north aisle of the nave was 13 feet wide. The foundations of a great part of its outer walls have been grubbed up to form a sawpit, now removed. The bays were divided externally by bold buttresses, of which that in line with the west wall was wider than the others. There was also a buttress projecting westward in line with the north wall.

The south aisle was of the same width as the north, and its outer wall remains throughout to a considerable height. It is 10 feet thick, without any projecting buttresses in the lower part, but probably above the cloister roof there were buttresses like those on the north side.

In the first bay is the entrance from the cloister, but on the church side this has been destroyed. Internally the bays were divided by vaulting shafts, which in all cases have been removed, except the semicircular stones forming their sub-bases. There was a string-course at 10 feet from the floor, above which each bay was recessed about 2 feet, and contained a pair of lancet windows. In the eighth bay is the moulded segmental rear arch, with carved capitals to the side shafts, of another doorway. The last bay contained an archway leading to the stairs of the lay-brothers' dorter, but this has been destroyed. Further westward is the eastern jamb of a small segmental-headed doorway that led to a vice in the south-west angle of the church ; the lower part of which, with the ends of some of the steps, still remains. Externally this vice is square, and retains on its south and west sides the bold moulded plinth that surrounded the church.

The Cloister.

The cloister (*claustrum*) was the living-place of the convent, and all the buildings connected with the daily life of the monks were placed round it, and accessible from

it. These buildings are enumerated in their proper order in the directions in the Cistercian *Consuetudines*[1] for the Sunday procession, as follows: *capitulum* or chapter-house, *auditorium* or parlour, *dormitorium* or dorter, *dormitorii necessaria* or reredorter, *calefactorium* or warming-house, *refectorium* or frater, *coquina* or kitchen, *cellarium* or cellarer's building. These will be considered in their turns.

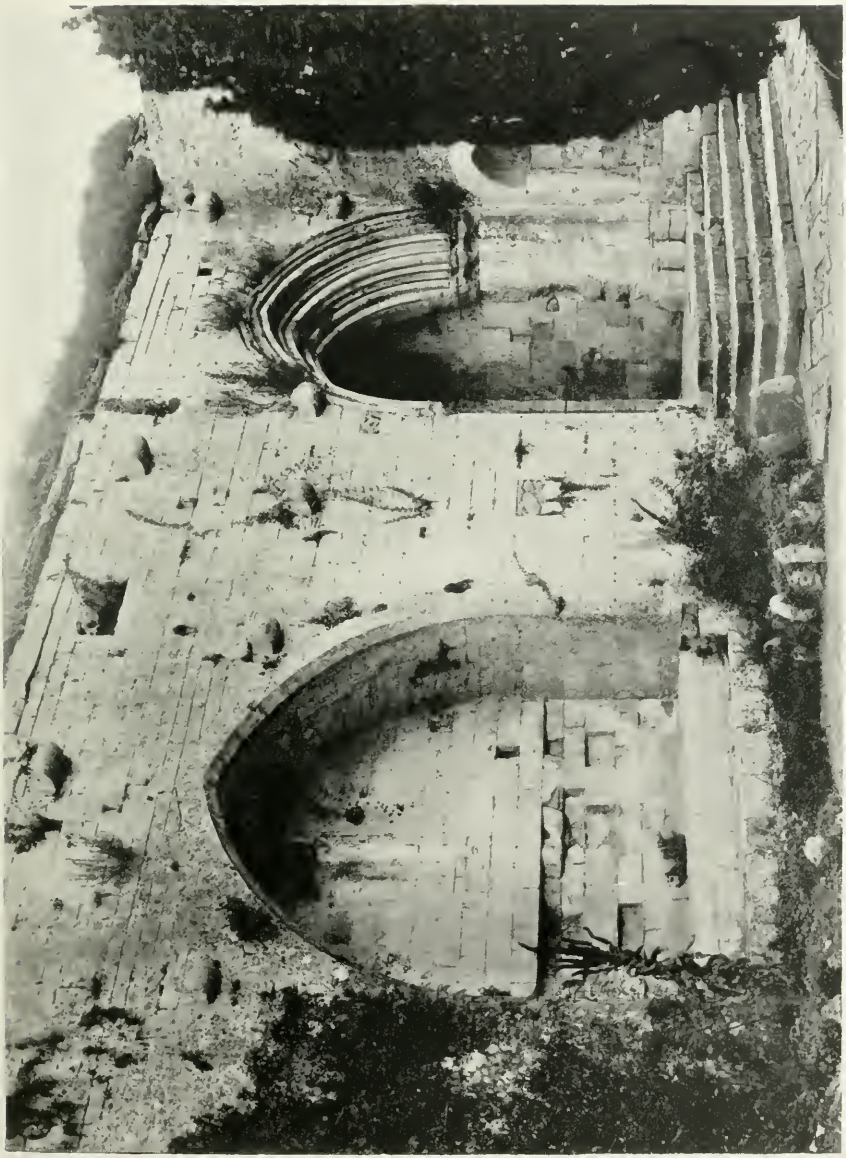
As its name implies, the cloister was an enclosed area, usually square, having a grass-plat in the middle, with covered alleys on all four sides. The alley next the church was practically the living room of the monks, where they sat and read when not engaged in the church or elsewhere. The other alleys of the cloister were chiefly passages, with doors opening out of them into the various offices already enumerated.

At Beaulieu the cloister was 138 feet from east to west by 137 feet from north to south. The alley roofs were carried towards the garth on walls 19 inches thick. That on the east remains for its full length, but only a few inches above the floor. Upon the walls stood a series of open arches carried on coupled columns with moulded capitals and bases, all in Purbeck marble. A number of loose fragments of these are preserved.

Since the cloister at Beaulieu lies on the south side of the church, its north wall is also that of the south aisle of the church. It is ashlar-faced throughout, and has in it seven large pointed recesses $10\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide and $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep, the floors of which are 2 feet 9 inches above the cloister pavement. (Plate VI.) A stone bench, now gone, ran in front of them against the wall. The backs of the recesses are lined with ashlar, and the soffits are plastered and painted with red masonry lines. None of them shows any traces of fittings of any kind, but the first has a small chase cut in the back about 7 feet from the floor. These recesses, as will be seen from the plan, are purely constructional, in order to reduce the mass of the church wall in which they are set. The lower part of this was of greater thickness than the corresponding north wall to allow the buttresses between the aisle windows to be set upon it,

[1] *Nomasticon Cisterciense* (Solesmes, 1892), 133.

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BEAULIEU ABBEY. PART OF NORTH SIDE OF THE CLOISTER.

instead of starting from the ground and projecting into the cloister alley. A similar arrangement and series of recesses remains at Hayles. At Netley and Waverley it was managed by a tall range of arches *within* the aisle, in which at Netley the windows were set. The seventh or westernmost recess at Beaulieu, though built with the rest, was outside the cloister, as will be explained below.

The doorway from the cloister to the church is to the east of the recesses, and of three plainly moulded orders, with Purbeck marble capitals and bases for shafts now lost. (Plate VI.) On account of the thickness of the church wall it had behind the door, which was protected by a drawbar, a lobby vaulted with chamfered diagonal and wall ribs. Owing to a difference of level between the floors of church and cloister there is a broad flight of steps up to the doorway, round which are some remains of the original paving of square stone slabs set diagonally. (Plate VI.)

All along the north wall are two rows of corbels, an upper to carry the wall plate of the alley roof, and a lower for the principals that divided it into bays. The roof weathering also remains along a considerable part of the wall, and at the east end is a fragment of the weathering which occurred between the buttresses under the aisle windows.

In the east wall, immediately adjoining the doorway to the church, are the remains of a pointed recess, 5 feet 4 inches high, 2 feet 6 inches broad, and $15\frac{1}{4}$ inches deep. (Plate VI.) The upper part, from 2 feet up, was grated with iron, and in the sill is a hole for a vertical iron bar. At the back are grooves for shelves at 25 inches and 42 inches from the bottom. For some distance southward the wall is plain, but at 32 feet from the angle there is a wide recess built in under the dorter stair. It is a rectangular vaulted chamber with moulded diagonal and wall ribs springing from shafts in the corners, of marble with foliated capitals. The original front has unfortunately been destroyed. The recess is 8 feet $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide, 4 feet $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep within, and 9 feet high to the crown of the vault, and was raised nearly 3 feet above the pavement of the cloister alley. It formed the

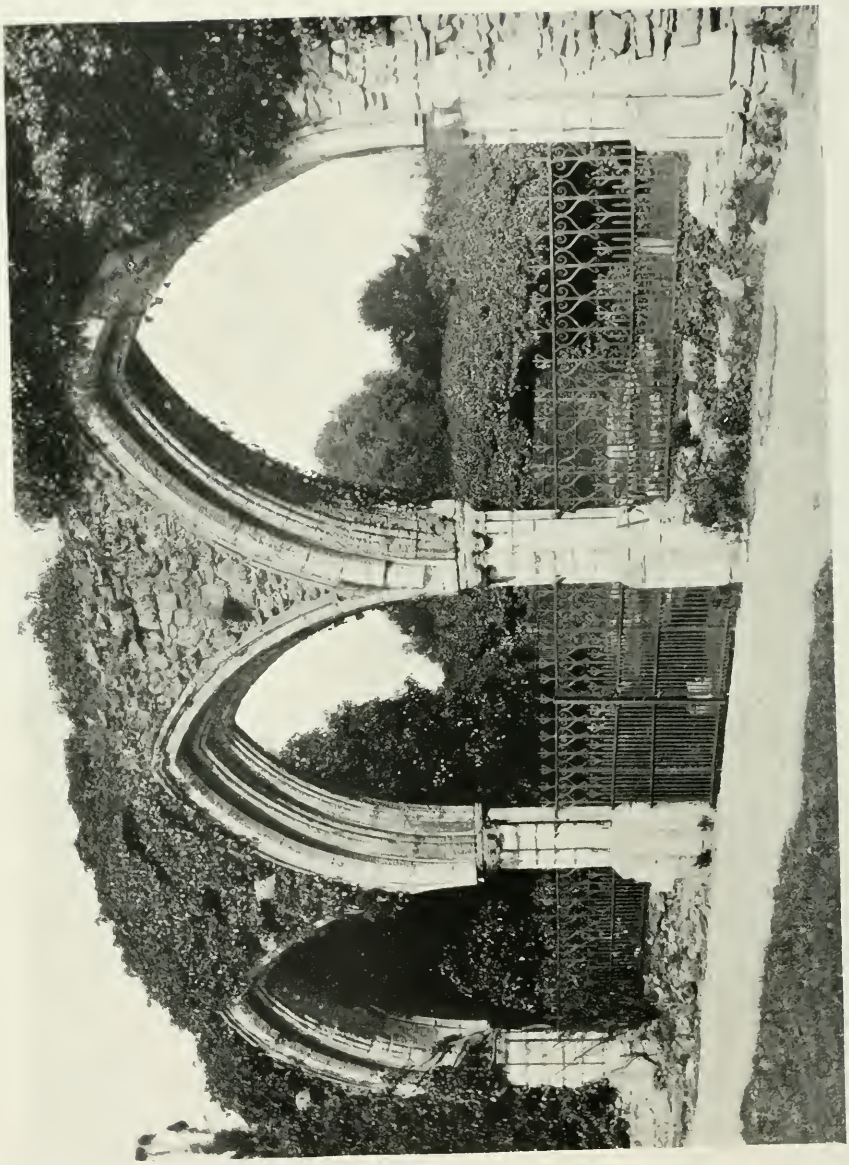
armarium commune or common bookcase, wherein were kept books for use in the cloister.[1]

Next to the transept was a compartment about 63 feet long and 12½ feet wide, originally vaulted in five bays. The greater part of it formed the vestry and was entered directly from the church. It had of course an altar against the east wall, and towards the west there were recesses in the walls for cupboards. Unfortunately, only the side walls remain in part, and all traces of the doorway from the church have been obliterated by modern rebuilding. Along the south wall the lowest course of the ashlar facing remains for a considerable distance, which shows that the vaulting was carried by corbels. The north wall, though stripped of its ashlar, stands to its full height in the two western bays, and retains the toothing of its vaulting. The whole of the eastern end, except the footings of the buttresses, has been destroyed by the formation of a sunk ditch. A small portion of the flooring remains at the west end, of encaustic tiles of rough pattern and irregularly laid.

The westernmost bay was walled off from the rest, as at Roche, Netley, Jervaulx, Tintern, Kirkstall, and elsewhere, and entered from the cloister by a double doorway, now ruined to its bases, with doors opening outwards, an insertion of the fourteenth century within the original arch of entrance. This doorway, like that of the *armarium commune*, was brought forward to the front of the bench table below, which thus served as a step into it. The vaulting remains, but has lost its ribs, with the exception of the middle boss. The marble bases of the vaulting shafts remain in the western angles. The chamber itself formed the book closet or library of early times. Of that at Meaux, where it was called the *almarium commune*, a record has been preserved of how it was fitted up; there were four psalters in the top shelf over the door (*in suprema theca supra ostium*); nearly forty volumes stood on the uppermost shelf opposite (*in suprema theca opposita*); and

[1] In earlier times it took the form of a shallow recess lined with book-shelves, as at Fountains, Kirkstall, and Rievaulx, but as books became numerous more room was wanted for them, and in later buildings the recess was enlarged accordingly, as in the example under notice.

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BEAULIEU ABBEY. WEST FRONT OF THE CHAPTER-HOUSE.

about 280 other volumes were placed on other shelves distinguished by letters of the alphabet (*in aliis thecis distinctis per alphabetum*).[1]

The Chapter House.

Next to the vestry and book-cupboard was the *capitulum* or chapter-house, so-called because in it was read daily after prime a chapter of the rule of St. Benedict. It was entered from the cloister by a tall pointed arch of three orders, the two innermost moulded and the outermost chamfered, carried by Purbeck marble shafts with pillars and bases of the same material. Flanking the entrance were two similar openings, but closed by dwarf walls with Purbeck marble sills $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet high. These openings were probably subdivided, but the subdivisions, as well as the innermost order in each case, have disappeared. (Plate VII.) The chapter-house itself was apparently four bays long, and divided into three alleys by rows of marble pillars, but all traces of these have gone. Against the walls was a double bench table, returned against the side openings of the west wall, and on the upper bench stood the vaulting shafts. The remaining fragment of the north wall shows that these were all of marble. The vaulting ribs were plainly chamfered. Two plain coffin lids lie in the second bay of the middle alley, and probably mark the burying places of two of the abbats. The east end and south side have been destroyed by the making of a sunk fence.

The Parlour.

Immediately southward of the chapter-house was the parlour, or *auditorium juxta capitulum*, where such talking as was necessary might be carried on instead of in the cloister, where silence was strictly enjoined. In this case, as at Jervaulx and elsewhere, the parlour served also as a passage from the cloister to the monks' infirmary on the east. Hardly anything of it is left except the entrance from the cloister, with its segmental plainly

[1] See the list in *Chronica de Melsa* (Rolls Series 43), iii. pp. lxxxv-c.

chamfered arch. The lower part of the small eastern doorway, which can hardly be original, was uncovered during our excavations in Easter week, 1900. The parlour was 34½ feet long and 12½ feet wide and covered by a barrel vault, which shows against the west end.

The ivy-clad wall which crosses the sites of the vestry, chapter-house, and parlour is wholly modern.

The Dorter Subvault.

Extending southwards from the parlour for, probably, some 115 feet, was the subvault of the dorter. It was divided down the middle by a row of pillars into eight bays, and vaulted throughout; but as the greater part of its site is now included within the parish churchyard, it has been almost entirely destroyed with the exception of part of the north end and the base of a buttress in the middle of the east side. The western half of the northernmost bay retains the lower part of a doorway from the cloister, with plain chamfered jambs and a chamfered sill. In the angle within is part of one of the corbels of the vault. One of the square bases of the middle row of pillars also remains, apparently in place. It has spurs at the angles, and carried a column 21½ inches in diameter. A fragment is also left of the east wall of the same bay, with the lower part of a window. In line with the plinth of the buttress in the churchyard is part of a cross wall cutting off the three northern bays of the subvault.

The Dorter.

The great dorter (*dormitorium*) or sleeping place of the convent occupied the first floor over the chapter-house, parlour, and subvault to the south; but not a vestige remains of it except the bottom stones of the doorway, 6 feet 7 inches wide, at the top of the night stairs from the church and a fragment of the wall adjoining it to the east, which was lined with ashlar.

The arrangement of a Cistercian dorter can be best understood by the description of that at Clairvaux, which,

with the exception of having a vaulted roof instead of an open one of timber, was similar to our English examples: "At the end of the said transept are thirty or forty great steps . . . to the dorter of the religious. The whole is of stone and vaulted . . . The chambers are on both sides . . . and are made entirely of joiner's work, containing in length from 7 to 8 feet and in width 6 feet; in all of which there is a bedstead with bedding, a little table and a shelf for writing, and the said chambers are ornamented with beautiful pictures upon canvas and furnished with tables relating to the devotion of each religious. In the door of each of these chambers is a window of two divisions, through which each religious going by the dorters is able to see his companion in his chamber; the said chambers look upon the cloister."[1]

In addition to the staircase to the dorter from the church, already described, for use at night, there was another for use by day at the east end of the south wall of the cloister. The opening to this in the wall was by a chamfered segmental arch 7½ feet wide, of which the springing stones and one jamb alone remain. The lower steps, of which eight remain, projected into the cloister quadrant fashion, and a small fragment of the original paving of square stones set diagonally remains at the foot, but has been much injured by a large tree which grew at this point.

The Reredorter.

The reredorter, or *dormitorii necessaria*, a name which sufficiently explains its use, projected eastwards from the south end of the dorter. It was 28 feet wide and some 68 feet in length, with a drain about 4 feet wide, paved with rough stone slabs, traversing its southern side. The upper story, which formed the reredorter proper, was entered directly from the dorter, and had a series of garderobes over the drain divided from one another by wooden partitions; but all remains of this have, of course, disappeared. Of the lower story the foundations of parts of the side walls have been recovered by excavation, but

[1] Didron, *Annales Archéologiques*, iii. 228.

the east end has gone, and the junction with the dorter subvault is covered by the churchyard.

The Warming-House.

Returning to the south alley of the cloister, next to the dorter day-stair, and westwards of it, there is one jamb, and the segmental relieving arch above, of a plain chamfered doorway. This opened into the warming-house or *calefactorium*, so called from its being the place provided with a fire, whereat the monks who were in cloister might come and warm themselves in winter. It was 40 feet long and 19 feet wide, and had at the west end a broad fireplace with projecting hood against the frater wall, wherein are also the moulded corbels of the vaulting which covered the room in two square bays. The south and east walls have gone and the area of the room is now laid open to the churchyard.

Over the warming-house was usually a vaulted room of doubtful use gained from the head of the dorter stairs. At Beaulieu, in what was its west wall, which is retained as part of the east side of the frater, are the remains of a segmental-headed locker, but all else has perished.

The Lavatory.

Between the warming-house door and that into the frater are the remains of the lavatory, which, though of thirteenth-century work, is later than the rest of the buildings. (Plate VIII.)

Why the original lavatory was done away with in so short a time it is impossible to say ; but the new structure that superseded it must have been when perfect one of the finest of its kind in the kingdom. It consisted of three open arches of moulded members, supported upon columns, projecting beyond the wall face, and flanked at either end by small splayed arches back to the wall line. One-half of the western of the small arches remains and is carried next the wall by a delicately carved capital supported by the head of a man. The back of the lavatory is recessed into the wall, and opposite



BEAULIEU ABBEY. PART OF CLOISTER LAVATORY AND FRATER DOORWAY.

each column was a moulded cross arch, of which the westernmost remains, to carry plain transverse pointed vaults, without ribs, which followed the main arches. The back of each bay is slightly sloped on plan from the middle of each main arch to behind the piers that carried them. Along the back wall was a chamfered ledge, still partly remaining, with a groove, 3 inches wide, on top to take the pipe that supplied the lavatory with water from a long row of taps.[1] Beneath were the basons, segmental in form and very shallow, of which one remains, though not in position: these were carried on moulded capitals with truncated columns dying into deep-splayed plinths at the front and behind the piers of the main arches. The half-capital in the west corner remains in position, and some of the others, found loose, are temporarily placed near their original positions. There is a large hole in the middle bay for a waste pipe, and another near the east end.

The Frater.

The *refectorium* or frater, which is the building enumerated next after the *calefactorium* in the direction for the Sunday procession, was the dining-hall of the monks. Although at first the Cistercian frater seems to have stood east and west, parallel with the church, as in Benedictine, Cluniac and Canons' houses, it became the practice about the middle of the twelfth century, for

[1] The medieval way of washing the hands was not to immerse them in a bason of water as is the custom to-day, but to hold them under a running tap; the bason of a lavatory was therefore merely a dripper or sink from which the water was carried off by waste pipes. The lavatory at Clairvaux is described as "Une grande fontaine, dont le bassin est d'une pière d'une pièce, ayant de longueur plus de qualtre toises, et tout à l'entour gecte yaue par divers conduitz." (Didron, *Annales Archéologiques*, iii. 231). That in the Benedictine house of Durham, which was excavated in 1903 (see *Archaeologia*, lviii. 444 *seqq.*), was an octagonal structure of the thirteenth century, but within "made in forme Round covered w^th^ lead and all of marble saving ye verie uttermost walls. W^th^in ye w^ch^ walls yo^u^ may walke round about y^e^ laver of marble having many litle Cundittꝭ or spoutꝭ of brasse w^th^ xxiiij^o^ Cockes of brasse Round about yt . . ." (*Rites of Durham*, Surtees Society cvii, 82.) The Cluniac priories of Lewes and Wenlock had round and octagonal conduit houses respectively for the lavatory projecting into the cloister garth opposite the frater door. Although an octagonal structure of the same type occurs in the Irish abbey of Mellifont, no example has yet come to light in any Cistercian abbey in England, where the lavatory is invariably recessed in the wall on one or both sides of the frater door.

some reason at present unknown, to place it north and south, with the warming-house on the east and the kitchen on the west, and with only its end against the cloister. At Beaulieu, where the later arrangement was of course followed, the frater has fortunately been preserved complete, even to its roof, through its conversion at the suppression of the abbey into a parish church for the inhabitants of the surrounding district.[1]

It is entered from the cloister by a simply moulded doorway in its north end, of three orders, the two outermost of which are carried by marble shafts. (Plate VIII.) The door itself is ancient, and has some interesting original iron-work. Above the doorway are three lancet windows, the middlemost of which is broader and taller than the others, resting on the stringcourse over the alley roof. In the gable above is a square-headed light. Just behind the point of the gable, and perched astride the roof, is a wooden belfry, for the church bells.

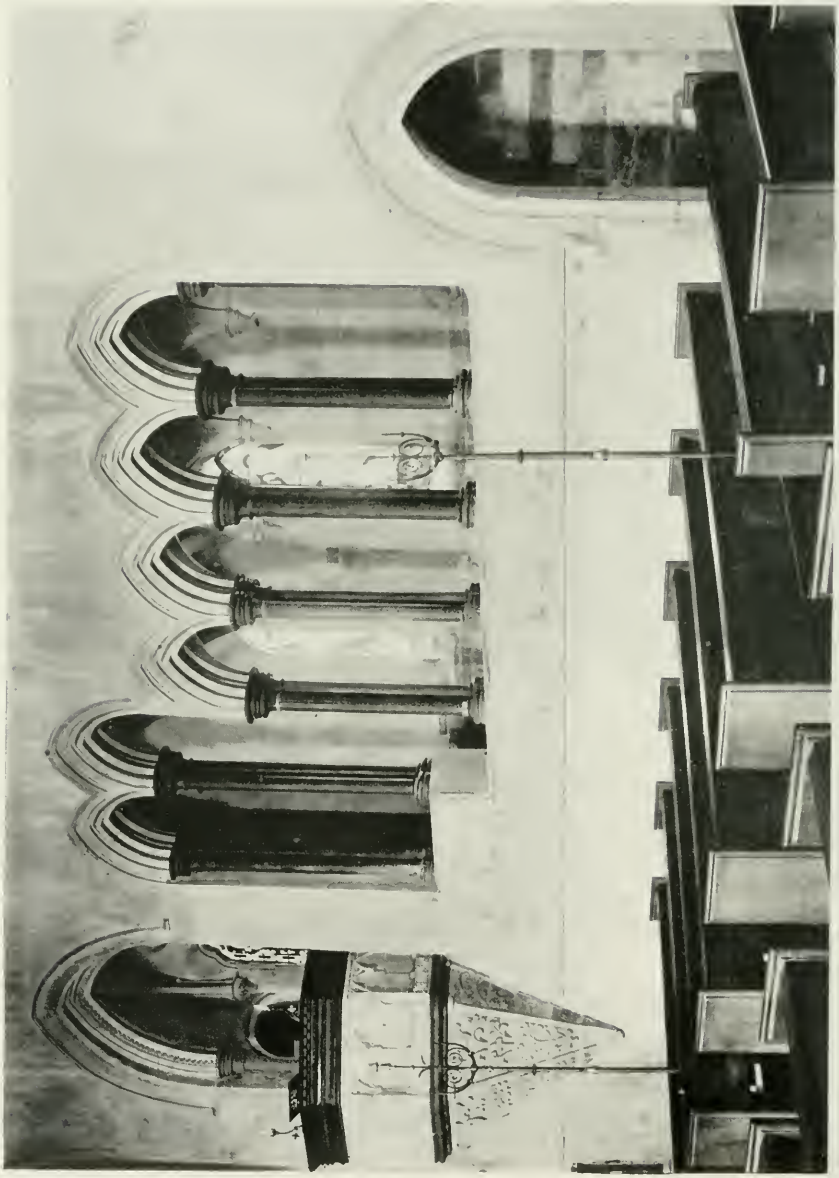
Internally the frater is 30 feet wide and nearly 130 feet long. About 20 feet of its length at the north end is cut off by a screen, with gallery over, which forms part of the church fittings; but it is by no means certain that this does not represent a medieval partition in the same place. Under the gallery, to the west of the entrance doorway, is a large and deep locker, now converted into a window. Southward of the screen the east wall contains a range of six tall lancet windows, each having a moulded rear arch of two orders, both of which are continued down the jambs. Below the windows is a bold roll stringcourse carried all round the hall. The south end has a triplet of lancets with moulded rear arches enriched with dog-tooth ornament and carried by banded shafts. The west wall is arranged differently from the east, partly on account of the greater projection of the kitchen southwards than that of the warming-house, and partly because it contains the pulpit. Starting from the north there are, first two windows like those in the east wall, then the pulpit, and two other lancets beyond. The pulpit is reached by a narrow flight of eighteen steps in the thickness of the

[1] A set of plans and drawings of the Beaulieu frater, with details, in illustration of a paper by Mr. Owen B. Carter, was published in 1844 in the second volume of Weale's *Quarterly Papers on Architecture.*

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BEAULIEU ABBEY. PASSAGE AND STEPS TO FRATER PULPIT.



BEAULIEU ABBEY. THE FRATER PULPIT.

wall, entered at its north end by a wide pointed doorway with continuous mouldings, over which the stringcourse is carried as a hoodmold. The doorway opens into a vaulted lobby about 4 feet square, from which the steps ascend southwards. The staircase is covered by a stone vault with chamfered ribs springing from moulded corbels, arranged in two divisions of four bays and three bays, the latter being lifted 2½ feet above the former. (Plate IX.) Towards the frater is an open arcade of six pointed arches arranged in two series of four and two, the latter being set upon a higher level, corresponding with the vaulting bays behind.[1] (Plate X.) The arches are moulded and rest on twin columns of marble with coupled capitals and bases of the same material. In the back wall of the staircase are three small lancet windows arranged symmetrically with the alternate openings of the arcade towards the frater. At the top of the steps is a lobby, with a wide arch towards the frater, covered by a half vault with moulded ribs. The arch is a plain pointed opening with hoodmold, and has an inner order with dog-tooth ornament carried by detached marble pillars. Projecting from the front of the arch is the pulpit, from which one of the monks read to his brethren during meals. (Plate XI.) It consists of a large semi-octagonal stone corbel, with flat panels decorated with rows of characteristic thirteenth-century leafwork carved in low relief. On the top of the corbel is a marble stringcourse above which is the parapet of the pulpit. This is also a half-octagon in plan, 5 feet in width, and of stone, but is of later date than the corbel on which it rests. Each side has across the bottom a band of sunk quatrefoils above which is an arcade of two cusped pointed arches, carried by engaged shafts, with trefoil sinkings in the spandrels. At each angle of the pulpit is a broad and shallow buttress with a trefoiled panel on the front. The date of this upper part is about 1300. The original parapet which it replaced was probably of wood.

[1] The third bay of the upper series of vaulted compartments abuts against a strip of wall to the south of the arcade. The other compartments correspond each to an arch of the arcade. The three northernmost arches of the arcade, which are now of the same height as the next two, seem originally to have been taller and to have been carried by shafts resting on the level of the stringcourse below. See Weale, *op. cit.* Pl. III.

At the back of the pulpit is an early example of a traceried window, consisting of two trefoil-headed lights with a quatrefoil above. In the south wall of the pulpit lobby is a round-headed doorway. This leads to a small vice or circular stair, which once led up to the parapet, and may have been carried up as a little turret to hold the frater bell.

The frater is covered by a wooden ceiling of segmental section, but somewhat obtusely pointed, with transverse and longitudinal ribs with carved bosses at the intersections. The ceiling is divided into eleven bays, with a narrower or half bay at the north end, and dates apparently from about the end of the reign of Edward III. The roof seems to be of lower pitch than the original one.

Externally the frater is divided as regards the east side by boldly projecting buttresses into three bays of unequal widths, each containing a pair of windows. A fourth or northernmost bay was overlapped by the warming-house. The south end has an original buttress on the east, but only a modern substitute on the west. Effectually blocking the middlemost of the three lancet windows is a huge buttress, set up in 1746, under a mistaken idea to stop the movement southward of the roof couples, which had fallen over at the apex to such an extent as to threaten the destruction of the gable.[1] (Plate XII.) Behind it may be seen in the gable the traces of a large round window, which once surmounted the lancets below. On the west side of the frater all the four buttresses are modern, and the only ancient projection is the little turret in connexion with the pulpit.

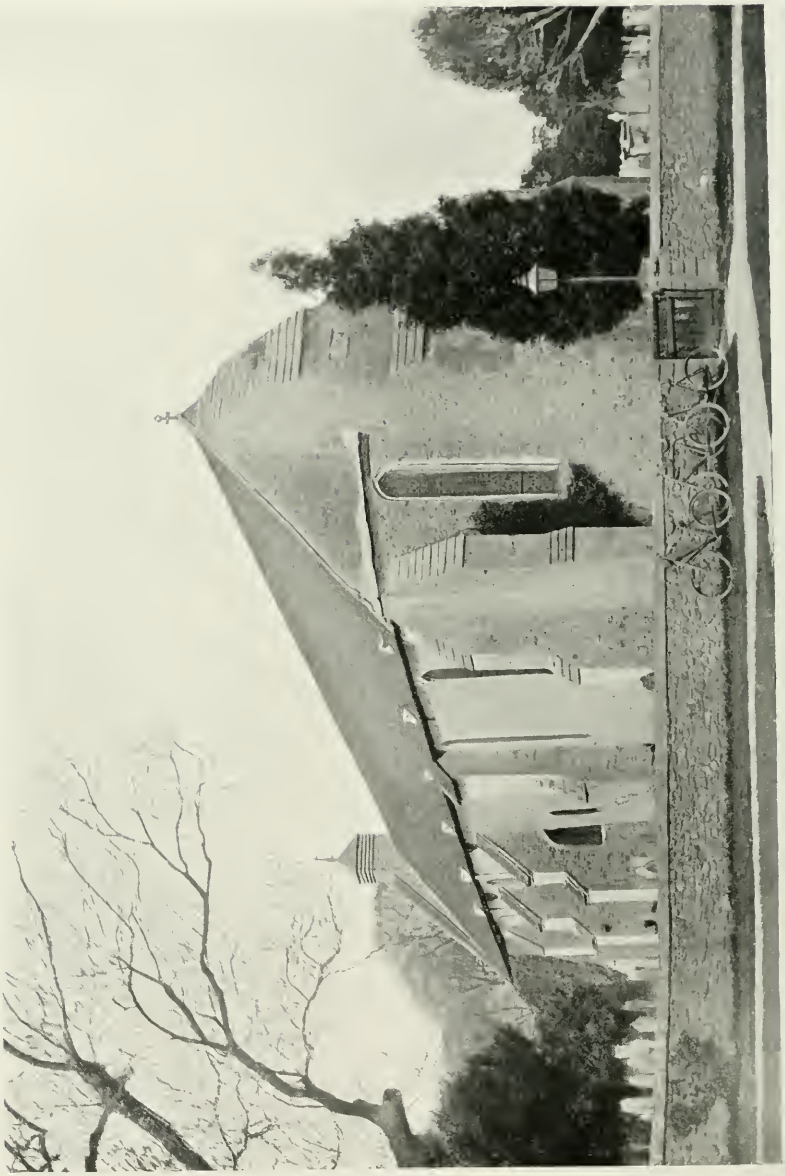
The Kitchen.

The northern part of the west side of the frater was overlapped for about 34 feet by the *coquina* or kitchen, but this has been so destroyed that little can be said

[1] Lord Montagu of Beaulieu has a report made by a surveyor at the time, who suggested putting diagonal braces to the roof on both sides, which was done, and adds, "I must observe, that when the roof is well secured with Braces, there will not be great need of this Buttress but as I found the Foundations of it already lay'd down and Raised to the Height of ye Plinth I did not presume to stop the workmen proceeding without your Grace āprobation."



BEAULIEU ABBEY. THE FRATER PULPIT.



BEAULIEU ABBEY. THE FRATER (NOW THE PARISH CHURCH), FROM THE SOUTH-WEST.

about it. Its site, moreover, is covered by the churchyard, and excavations are therefore impracticable. The north wall, which was common with the cloister, is standing to a considerable height, but the facing on the kitchen side has been removed, and towards the cloister nothing can be traced beyond part of the relieving arch over the place of the kitchen door. In the east end of the kitchen, which abutted against the frater, is the hatch for passing food through, and beside it is a modern doorway into the church. The hatch is formed by a three-centered arch, of three chamfered members on both sides of the wall, and is 3 feet $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide by $17\frac{1}{2}$ inches high in the clear. (Plate XIII.)

The Cellarer's Building.

The western side of the cloister is bounded, not by a building, but by a wall, now much broken down and only remaining in part. At its south end is an inserted Tudor doorway; a few feet further north is a blocked window; then, some distance beyond, another window cut down to make a rude doorway. Two corbels to carry the cloister roof remain above these openings. The northern half of the wall has gone, save for a low fragment adjoining the church. In this are the remains of a doorway with three descending steps into the cloister.

On the western side of the wall was an open court or lane $16\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide. At its north end is the seventh of the recesses in the church wall. The sill of this has been cut down, and in the back a doorway inserted, of two moulded orders carried originally by marble shafts, with foliated capitals, and bases of the same material. (Plate XIV.) The details of the doorway so closely resemble those of that from the cloister into the church that it must be regarded as an afterthought and not a work of later date. At the opposite or southern end of the lane is a doorway with segmental head into the kitchen or its yard.

The western side of the lane was bounded by a range of buildings, which extended from the church southwards for more than 270 feet. This is the building called in the *Consuetudines* the *cellarium*, a loose term which gives no

clue to its actual use, since it practically included all those parts of an abbey under the control of the cellarer. There cannot, however, be any reasonable doubt that in a Cistercian abbey the *cellarium* was for the accommodation of the *conversi* or lay brothers; their frater and other offices forming the ground story, while the upper floor was their dorter.[1]

As the division of the abbey buildings into two great groups for the use of the monks (*monachi*) and lay brothers (*conversi*) respectively is a feature peculiar to the Cistercians, a few words on the difference between the two classes may make matters clearer. Both *monachi* and *conversi* were equally monks in that they had taken the three monastical vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience. The *monachi* spent their time in church and cloister, and never left the abbey precincts except in cases of necessity. They were not necessarily priests, although in course of time most of them became so, and then their life differed little from that of the regular canons. The *conversi*, or *fratres laici* as they were also called (in contradistinction to the *monachi*, who were *fratres clerici*), were practically monks who could not read. They were not necessarily of humble origin, but might be, and often were, men of good family who desired to enter the monastic life, and being unlettered could only do so by becoming *conversi*, in which condition they always remained, since a *conversus* could never become a

[1] In the Yorkshire house of Meaux, after describing the building of the monks' dorter and the rest of the eastern range, the chronicle of the abbey states that the fourth abbat, Alexander (1197–1210), "*refectorium conversorum* ab abbate Thoma inceptum perfecit; et *domum superiorem, scilicet dormitorium eorundem*, inchoavit." [*Chronica de Melsa*, i. 326]. The *dormitorium conversorum* was finished by the fifth abbat, Hugh (1210–1220) [*Ibid.* i. 380]. Its position is fixed on the west side of the cloister by two entries: one recording that abbat William (1372–1396) leaded *inter alia* part of the monks' cloister "ab ostio refectorii monachorum usque ad *dormitorium conversorum*" [*Ibid.* iii. 224]; the other that abbat Burton (1396–1399) "ipsam partem claustri a dormitorio monachorum usque *ad dormitorium conversorum* juxta ecclesiam (*i.e.* the north or church side of the cloister) fecit tabulis plumboque reparari" [*Ibid.* iii. 241]. At Kirkstall [Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum* (ed. Caley, Ellis and Bandinel), v. 531] the first stone buildings are recorded to have been, besides the church, "*utrumque dormitorium* monachorum scilicet et *conversorum*, utrumque etiam refectorium, claustrum, et capitulum, etc." that is, all the buildings round the cloister, and since the positions of the monks' dorter and frater are known, there is no doubt that the frater and dorter of the *conversi* formed the western range. The *dormitorium conversorum* is mentioned in the *Annales de Crokesden* among the buildings erected by abbat London (1242–1269). [Cott. MS. Faustina B. 6, f. 74.]

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BEAULIEU ABBEY. SERVING HATCH BETWEEN THE KITCHEN AND THE FRATER.

monachus. They had charge, under the cellarer, of all the secular and external affairs of the monastery, and many of them lived in the granges or farms, which they worked, under the direction of obedientiaries chosen from among themselves. When resident in the abbey, as some of them always were, they kept certain of the hours in the church like the monks, and at the same time, but inasmuch as they could not read they substituted for the regular quire offices certain prayers and psalms which they learned by heart.

As the nave of the church was the quire of the *conversi*, the buildings for their accommodation, which included a dorter, frater, infirmary, etc., were in immediate connexion therewith, just as the monks' buildings adjoined their part of the church.

The great size of the buildings for the *conversi* has often been commented on. Nothing is known of the number of inmates of the abbey at Beaulieu, but at Waverley at the end of the twelfth century there were 120 *conversi* and 70 monks, and at Louth Park during the second quarter of the thirteenth century 150 *conversi* and 66 monks. At Meaux in 1349 the *conversi* were only seven in number, all of whom died of the great pestilence, as well as 32 out of 42 monks then in the abbey. After the middle of the fourteenth century the *conversi* in this country seem as a class to have died out, and to have been replaced by hired servants and labourers; probably because the gradual spread of education and other causes had extinguished the class from which they had been formerly drawn. Meaux is one of the few English abbeys where they are known to have been continued, but their number is not recorded, and in the time of abbat William of Scarborough (1372–1396) they all struck work and were superseded by monks.[1] Their buildings were then put to other uses. At Hayles the *cellarium* had been converted into the abbat's lodging for some time before the Suppression, and a similar thing

[1] "Ejus tamen tempore, conversi omnes de monasterio defecerunt; pro quorum numero monachos supplevit, et annuum pensum pro victu conventus augmentavit. Infirmitoria conversorum et sæcularium ab incolis et invalidis destitnit. Coquinam infirmitorii conversorum diruit, ac aliam coquinam antiqui hospitii in cameram super polanyhat reformavit, et penticium deinde usque ad magnas portas construxit, quod de capella extra portas fecerat amoveri." *Chronica de Melsa* (Rolls Series 43), iii. 229.

seems to have happened at Ford, where the sumptuous hall and other apartments of the abbat's house built by abbat Chard in 1525 still remain in a most perfect state, extending westwards from the former site of the *cellarium*.[1]

The *cellarium* at Beaulieu consisted of two parts, of unequal size, divided by a passage or entry from without, opening into the middle of the lane. The northern part, which is much the smaller, was a cellar, four bays long, lighted on both sides by narrow square-headed loops.[2] It is entered from the cloister entry by a pointed doorway, but just to the right of this was another entrance direct from the lane, with a segmental rear arch, now walled up outside. The original vault has been taken down and replaced, in post-Suppression Tudor days, by a heavy barrel vault of a single span, starting from the floor along each side. At the north end may be seen the plinth of the western part of the church. The cloister entry is 12 feet wide and has a pointed doorway on the west with segmental rear arch.[3] Its eastern doorway was similar, but has lost its pointed head. The passage is covered by a simple barrel vault. To the south of the inner doorway of the entry is another of similar character into the southern part of the range, beyond which southwards is the relieving arch of a wide pointed recess, lately underbuilt for strength with two round-headed arches. It probably marks the site of a lavatory for the lay brothers to wash at before meals. Beyond it again is a rough modern doorway.

Along the eastern side of the *cellarium* towards the lane was a pentise, of lesser height than the cloister roof, carried on corbels. Under this, a little to the north of the entry doorway, was the day stair to the lay-brothers' dorter, now represented by a modern double flight of steps leading up to the dorter door. This is 6 feet from the ground, and the stair was continued through it up to the dorter level. There was another doorway of similar

[1] See a paper by Mr. Gordon M. Hills, published by the British Archaeological Association in *Collectanea Archaeologica*, ii. 145–159.

[2] The northernmost in the east wall has been mutilated to serve as a modern entrance.

[3] The foundations of a porch outside this belong to a projected but uncompleted work of the late Lord Montagu of Beaulieu.

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BEAULIEU ABBEY. LAY-BROTHERS' DOORWAY TO CHURCH.

character, but at a higher level, to the south of the lavatory recess, the jambs of which remain in part.

The doorway next the entry opens into a lofty vaulted undercroft of two bays, which is all that is left of the lay-brothers' frater. This was originally six bays long, and covered by a quadripartite vault with chamfered ribs springing from corbels in the side walls. In each bay of the west wall, except the fourth, which is blank, was a tall lancet window. The two remaining bays are cut off from the ruined portion beyond by a wall, against which is built a huge Tudor fireplace.

In the north wall are two large round-headed lockers side by side.[1]

The south wall of the lay-brothers' frater formed one wall of the pit of their reredorter over the drain, which reredorter must have been contained within the range similarly to that for the monks at Kirkstall.

The rest of the range southwards has been much interfered with after the Suppression, at which time it was covered by a double barrel vault carried on a dividing wall, and had a story added above. At the south end, however, there remains a fragment of the west jamb of a deep splayed window which had a relieving arch over it, and in the west wall are six of such arches, though the windows below have been removed. The north wall is much ruined. As the upper part of the west wall is of post-Suppression date, it appears that the range southward from the drain was originally of one story only, and it probably served as the lay-brothers' infirmary.

Over the *cellarium*, from the church to the drain, extended the dorter of the lay brothers, which, as far as the Tudor wall with the fireplace, still retains the side walls to their full height. It was entered on the east by the northern of the two doorways already described, and had on the north a straight flight of steps into the church, for those attending the night offices. The well of these steps still remains, with three of the upper steps and the broken-off ends of the rest. Owing to the vault over the frater being higher than that over the cellar to the north, the floor of the southern half is raised some 3 feet above the

[1] The room is now used as a museum. It contains a number of architectural fragments, the more important of which are described below.

rest. The north wall is entirely of post-Suppression work, and has in it two two-light transomed windows. The north end of the west wall, owing to the removal of the south-west turret of the church, was rebuilt at the same time, but the rest of it, except for the insertion of three later openings, remains entire. It apparently had a series of ten square-headed loops with segmental rerearches to the northern part, of which six remain, and there are three others of less height over the remaining bays of the frater. The north wall seems to have been rebuilt in the main, and retains no original features besides the two doorways. The whole block as far as the Tudor fireplace is covered by a tie-beam and purlin roof, of which the first three bays from the north seem to be medieval, as the tie-beams are chamfered and painted red, whereas the remainder is unwrought.

In late monastic days two gardrobes were added outside the west wall, one just to the south of the entry doorway and another forming a buttress to the third cross rib of the frater vault; the basements of the pits remain. Other buttresses were added on this side against the remaining cross ribs, of which the plinths of the fourth and fifth remain. The northern gardrobe was approached by a small square doorway under what was the eighth window of the dorter, opening on to a wooden passageway outside the wall to the gardrobe itself, but owing to the destruction of the upper wall the manner of entrance to the southern gardrobe is lost. The addition of these gardrobes indicates that the original use of the *cellarium* had been changed, and perhaps, as at Citeaux and Hayles, it became the abbat's house and place of entertainment for superior guests.

The Monks' Infirmary.

The monks' infirmary (*infirmitorium*) was required not only for the temporary accommodation of the sick, but, as its name implies, for the permanent housing of the infirm, who were physically unfit to endure the rigorous life of the cloister, and the aged who had been professed fifty years (*sempectæ*). In the Benedictine Order, and among some of the Canons, those who had been let blood

(*minuti*) were allowed to go into the infirmary for a time after that weakening process, which took place four times a year, but the Cistercians were not allowed this privilege. The infirmary buildings consisted of at least a hall, a chapel, and a kitchen, and in this country were generally placed to the east of the dorter range.[1]

The infirmary at Beaulieu was approached from the cloister by a wide passage in continuation of the parlour, and consisted of a great hall placed north and south, though not parallel with the dorter; a chapel on the east; and a kitchen to the south. There was apparently some building to the north which has been destroyed by the return of the sunk fence that caused the removal of the eastern part of the great apse of the church.

The Infirmary Hall.

The infirmary hall had completely disappeared from above ground, but the foundations of all the walls, except the north, were found by excavation in 1901, and a considerable part of the west wall to a height of some 2 feet above the original floor.

The hall was 118 feet in length by 40 feet in width, and was divided into eight bays by cross arches of stone carried by piers projecting into the hall.[2]

The fourth bay from the north is much narrower than the rest, apparently on account of the arches having carried a lantern or louvre over a fire in the middle of the hall. In the west wall of this bay is the main entrance, formed of two members, the outer of which was carried by marble jamb shafts, the bases of which remain. In the second bay on the west is a projecting block, apparently of original work. Opposite this on the east side is another block projecting into the hall, from which a drain runs northward. In the sixth bay is a doorway with a

[1] At Furness the infirmary was in later days built to the south of the cloister, owing to the contraction of the valley to the east.

[2] No other example of this construction for the infirmary hall has as yet been found in this country, though it may easily have occurred, as only ten out of the seventy-six Cistercian infirmaries in England and Wales have left remains or been excavated. A foreign example occurs at Fossanova in Italy. (C. Enlart, *L'Architecture Gothique en Italie*, 108.) In this case the cross arches of stone still exist, though the buttresses are external, so that the space for the beds is lost.

single moulded member which led to the chapel. In the middle of the south end of the hall is a fireplace, but whether original or an insertion it is impossible to say, as only part of the hearth remains.

Immediately outside the entrance doorway were found the second step with rounded end and indications of the bottom and third step of a flight of stairs against the west wall of the hall, which appear to be of original work. These seem to have been returned at the top towards the east, and supported by the block of masonry in the second bay of the hall already described. If these steps were original, then the northern end of the hall had an upper story, probably over the first two bays.

In the fifteenth century alterations were made in the hall, as was the custom at other places. A wall was built in line with the fourth cross arch from the north, with a fireplace in the middle. Another fireplace was added in the second bay in the west wall, which shows that the northern end of the hall was divided into rooms.

At the north-east angle of the hall was found the beginning of a wide wall running eastward, which appears to have belonged to some demolished building at the north end of the hall. This may possibly have been the visiting abbat's lodging, which would be gained by the staircase already mentioned.

The Infirmary Chapel.

The infirmary chapel was on the east side of the hall and entered by the doorway in the eighth bay already described. It was 42 feet long by 18 feet wide, and had double angle buttresses to the east end. Nothing except the entrance doorway remained above the foundations, and these had been grubbed up in places.

The Kitchen.

At the south end of the hall were some fragmentary remains of a building that had a large fireplace in its east wall. The north jamb of this remained some three courses in height, and was chamfered on either side.

In the same wall northward next the infirmary hall was a doorway from without, of a single chamfered member, into a passage separating the room with the fireplace from the hall. In this passage wall, which is only $15\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick, is a wide doorway with a single chamfered member. These remains evidently belong to the infirmary kitchen, which must have been built up to the east end of the rere-dorter; but its extent southward is doubtful.

Just at the back of the kitchen fireplace was a square block of masonry containing the pit of a garderobe, which shows that the space to the east of the kitchen was occupied by a two-storied building; but as no definite foundations of it were found, it may have been of timber construction. Further to the east were found some stone-built drains running from the kitchen eastward.

The passage connecting the infirmary with the cloister was $10\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, but has mostly been destroyed except a short length of its north wall. On the south side, close to the infirmary door, was found a block of masonry $12\frac{1}{3}$ feet long by $4\frac{1}{4}$ feet wide, with a chamfered plinth on the south side and both ends. On the north side was a moulded base, stopped with a chamfered return at 18 inches from either end. This block probably supported the conduit to which the water supply of the convent was brought before being dispersed to the various offices.[1] From this main passage there must have been another as far as the church as at Fountains and Jervaulx, and this is marked by a patch of tile flooring found just to the east of the chapter-house. On the east side of this passage were the foundations of two small rooms and the beginning of a third to the north, which had a fireplace, but there was nothing to indicate the date of them, and they may possibly be post-Suppression.

The Misericord.

Adjoining the staircase on the west side of the infirmary hall was a building 18 feet wide, of which both the side walls were found, but the north end had gone in consequence of the same ditch that destroyed the north

[1] A similar feature has recently been found at Waverley, and there is a conduit chamber in the corresponding position at Fountains.

wall of the infirmary hall, and of the south end nothing remained save a short return in connexion with the east wall. From its size and position this building was probably the misericord, which with the Cistercians came into use towards the end of the fourteenth century.

Up to that period the Cistercians, together with other reformed Benedictines, adhered strictly to the rule of St. Benedict, which enacted that no flesh meat be eaten except by the sick, and only by them during the time of their sickness.[1] No alteration of this rule occurs in the Statutes of 1256, but within the next hundred years, owing to the granting of numerous pittances, and the degeneracy of monastic fervour, things had so far changed that the Cistercians were allowed, by a privilege of Pope Benedict XII. in 1335, to eat meat in the infirmary, and by invitation of the abbat in his lodging.[2] Further relaxations occurred in later years, so that by the middle of the fifteenth century it was the custom to partake of meat three days in the week, namely, upon Sundays, Tuesdays and Thursdays, excepting in Advent, Septuagesima, Lent, and other seasons of fasting. But though meat was allowed as a permanent luxury, it was not to be partaken of in the frater, which necessitated the provision of a special hall for the purpose.[3] As the infirmary was the place where meat was first allowed to be eaten, this hall, or misericord as it was called (from *misericordia*, an indulgence), was often in connexion with the infirmary, as at Clairvaux, Fountains, and Waverley, and the food was served from the infirmary kitchen. At Kirkstall, Ford, and some other English houses, the frater itself was divided by a floor into two fraters, one for use upon meat days, the other on ordinary days ; the misericord, which was the lower hall, being served from a new kitchen erected specially for that purpose.

At Beaulieu, when the misericord was erected, a passage was probably built from opposite its south end direct to the infirmary kitchen, as suggested on the plan.

[1] *Regula St. Benedicti*, xxxvi. *Nomasticon Cisterciense*, 484.

[3] *Ibid.* 552.

The Wine-Press.

About 300 feet north of the church are the ruins of a large building, placed east and west, having a projecting wing to the north.

The east and west portions retain the gable ends to their full height, but the side walls are ruined to the

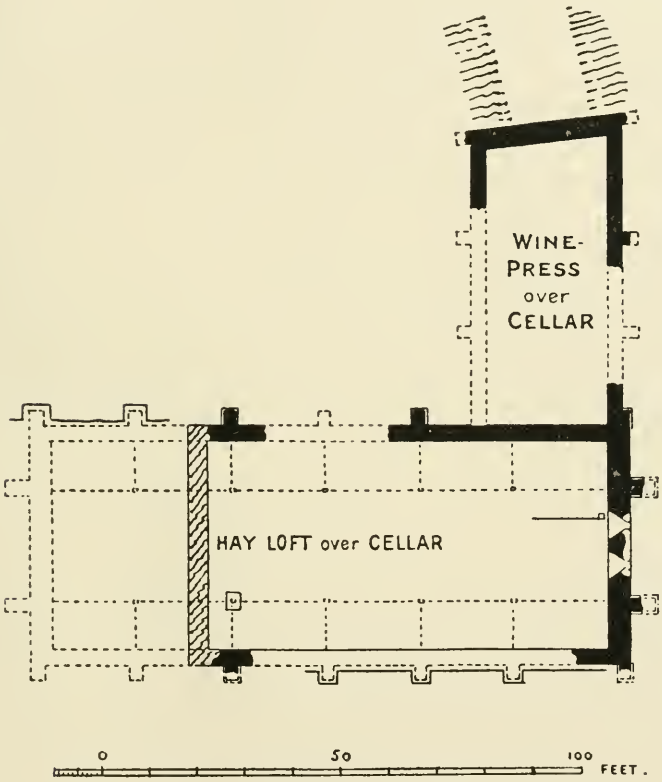


FIG. 1.—PLAN OF THE WINE-PRESS.

ground except for two short lengths on the north. The building was originally 118 feet in length by 43½ feet wide, but was shortened in later days by 34 feet at the west, and the present west gable is of this alteration. The original was divided by wooden posts into a nave with aisles, six bays in length. Opposite each post on the north and south sides was a boldly projecting buttress with a chamfered plinth, and at the east end were two

buttresses, larger than the side ones, opposite the lines of the posts. The whole was raised upon a wooden floor over a cellar, which had two windows in the east wall and probably stone piers to support the posts above.

The northern wing was 60 feet long by 25½ feet wide and also raised upon a cellar. It was divided into three bays by buttresses, of which the two northern on the east side have left remains. From the end of this wing is a raised earthen causeway to the upper floor from the higher land to the north, called "the vineyards" beyond the precinct. No indications remain of the way by which any of the buildings were entered or connected.

For many years these ruins have been known as "the wine press," and that such was the use of part of them is highly probable. The grape was cultivated for the production of wine in this country from early times, and it is extremely probable that the first inmates of Beaulieu, coming direct from the wine country of Burgundy, would take advantage of the warm climate of their new possession for the preparation of their native drink, rather than content themselves entirely with the beer their brethren in less favoured sites were compelled to drink. The only Cistercian wine press of which there is any record is that at Clairvaux, which was described in 1517 as being

> a great hall for the wine pressing and fermenting places, in which there are several large tuns, one of which is square, containing from four score to a hundred hogsheads, and the descent is to be noticed from the vineyard, which is behind the said fermenting place, into this fermenting place for bringing the vintage to the tuns.
>
> The wine goes by lead pipes into the tuns, which are in a cellar adjoining, in which cellar is a great tun containing 400 hogsheads of wine, that is 30 feet round and 18 in height.
>
> Besides, there is a great cellar all vaulted in stone where are innumerable tuns of wine for the use of the religious, and they pay each year for the yield of the vineyards of the same abbey from 1700 to 1800 francs; also there are in ordinary years 1,700 to 2,000 hogsheads of wine, and there are still other cellars and caves well furnished.[1]

Also the plan of the abbey of about the seventeenth century shows the wine-press to have been some 70 feet by 40, with a great building at right angles to it for the storage of hay. This arrangement is very similar to the

[1] Didron, *Annales Archéologiques*, iii. 237.

Beaulieu example, where the wine-presses and fermenting vats could have been in the northern wing with a cellar beneath, and having "the descent from the vineyard" still remaining. The main part of the building would be the hayloft above the great cellar for the storage of the wine.

At about 130 feet southward of the monks' reredorter were found the foundations of a small house. This consisted of a single room 26½ feet from north-east to south-west by 21¼ feet wide, and apparently constructed of timber, as the foundations, which were very rough, varied from only 18 inches to 2 feet in thickness. In line with the north-west wall were small buttresses, and in the south-east wall at the south end was a fireplace 7¼ feet wide, having chamfered jambs. To the west of this room was found a hearth, but with no walls in connexion. It is suggested that the small house just described was one of a series which occupied the spare ground between the claustral buildings and the precinct wall to the south, for the accommodation of the sanctuary men.

The Sanctuary.

It has been commonly asserted that the privilege of sanctuary was conferred upon the Abbey of Beaulieu by Pope Innocent III. There seems, however, to be no authority for the statement, and the register of that Pope does not contain anything relating to Beaulieu. The privilege of sanctuary, moreover, intimately connected as it was with the *renunciatio regni*, was a matter that concerned the King of England rather than the Bishop of Rome, and whatever powers the Abbey of Beaulieu possessed ought to have been by royal grant. That the abbey had the privilege of sanctuary is certain, but when and by whom it was granted is not clear. In 1427 the sanctuary at Beaulieu is coupled in the proceedings in Parliament[1] with those of Westminster and Culham, and the abbey preserved its powers down to the Suppression.

[1] *Rotuli Parliamentorum* (London, 1767–77) iv. 321.

Among the numerous documents in the Public Record Office that refer to the suppression of the monasteries there are several interesting letters relating to the sanctuary at Beaulieu. The first is addressed to Thomas lord Crumwell by the commissioners entrusted with the suppression of the abbey, and is dated 3rd April, 1538 :

Pleaseth it your Lordshipe to be adv'tised yesterdaie we Resayved the Surrender of this Monastery and from that tyme have and doo travale for the dispeche of all other thinges as dilygentlie as we may Therbe Sayntuary men here for dett felony and murder xxxij many of them aged some very seke they have all wthin iiij^{or} wyves and childern and dwellinge howses and ground wherby the lyve wth their famylies whiche beynge all assembled befor hus and the Kinges hignes pleasure opened to them they have verye lamentable declared that if they be nowe send to other saynturyes not onlie they but their wyves and childern also shalbe utterly undoñ and therfore have desired us to be means for theym with your lordship that they may remayne here for terme of their lyves so that none other be Resayved and bycause we have by exaïacon certeyne knowlege that the great nomber of theym wth their wyves and childern shuldbe utterly cast a waie their age impotency and other thinge considered yf they be sent to any other place we have sent this berear unto you besechinge your lordshipe we may knowe the Kinge pleasure by you herin whiche knowen wee shall accordinge to our most bownden duetes wth all diligenc' accomplishe the same as knoweth our Lord who have your Lordship in his blyssed kepinge from Bewley the iij daie of Aprill

Yo^{r} lordeshippes most^{e} assurede to cõmaunde
Richarde Layton prest

Yo^{r} lordeshippe most bownden beademan and s'vant
William Petre

Yow^{r} pou^{r} man John ffreman.[1]

The second letter is from Thomas Stevens, the late abbat of Beaulieu, to Thomas Wriothesley, the grantee of the abbey, and is dated 16th April :

IHS.

After my hertye Recõmendacons/ this is to desyre you to be good and singler Mast^{r} to thes por men p'vilegyd in the Sañctuarye of bewley for dette/ w^{che} ar in ther behavyor very honest men & hathe so bene in all the tyme/ I beynge there power gov'n'/ & dowzt not but the wyll evyn so cõtinew/ herafter/ whos namys bethe cõteynyd wth in ther supplycacon/ & in that po^{r} towne the thynke to lyve honestlie/ & to go from the same shalbe ther utter undoynge & no pfit to the towne for when they be gone the howsys wyll yeld no Rent but stond voyde and decay as god know^{t} who p's've yow^{r} m^{r}shype to

[1] Letters and Papers Henry VIII. Vol. 131, f. 13.

yo^{r} plesur and herte desyre w^{t} increase of . . . o^{r} w^{r}tyn at yo^{r} hows of leon'de th . . . of ap^{r}il

Yo^{r} chaplen and bedȩmā
Thomas Stepyns late abbat of bewley

Endorsed:

To My very syngler good M^{r}
M^{r} Thomas Withesley esqre deliv' thys w^{t} speede.

Docketed:

Thabbot of Beaulieu to
Mr. Wrioth xvj Aprilis.[1]

The third letter was written on 17th April, also to Wriothesley, from John Crayford:

Right wo^{r}shipfull after most harty cõmendacõns thies shalbe in most humble wise to besech you to tender the lamentable petic̃on and Supplication of thonely most wrechyd and miserable Detto^{r}s at beaulyeu/ so pensiffe and hevy/ ffer steppyd/ in age/ of long cõtinuaunce ther/ lodon w^{t} wyffes and childer/ who (wo faile yf they shall depte) must be cõpelled to begg and failing of foode in a sanctuary of smale compasse/ must other lenged ther bodyes and slender goods in goyng abrode or dey for hungar The holle Inhabitants of beaulyeu (few excepted) be sanctuary men The morderers and fellons woll incontinenently and w^{t}out any further sute/ as hopeles men depart/ the Rest be detto^{r}s of good behavo^{r} and right quyet emongst ther neighbours and both can and woll ffynde substanciall and honest men for ther good abering during ther liffȩ and abode ther/ yt war an excellent and an hiegh dede of charite to pcure licence of the Kingȩ grace ther to tary w^{t} wifȩ and childer/ not by vertue of thold Sanctuary ther/ but be new ptection under the Kingȩ greate seale/ The obtenc̃on herof shuld much soundeth yo^{r} wo^{r}ship and cõmende yo^{w} hieghly unto tholle countree in thes ptes/ wher yo^{w} unseen/ and unknowen be moch regarded, etc. etc.

Docketed:

Ion Crauford xvij^{o} Aprilis to Mr. Wrioth'.[2]

The fate of the sanctuary men is indicated by a note among Crumwell's *Remembrances*,

The sanctuary men at Beaulieu for debt
to continue there for life.[3]

[1] Wriothesley Letters and Papers, f. 59.

[2] Letters and Papers Henry VIII. Vol. 131, f. 163.

[3] Cott. MS. Titus B. 1, f. 465.

It is evident from the text of the foregoing letters that not only the immediate precinct of this abbey, but anywhere within the bounds of its surrounding lands was reckoned as sanctuary. It is clear, too, that although there may have been some lodgings for sanctuary men inside the precinct, the majority of them lived outside, with their wives and children, and their dwellings practically formed the village of Beaulieu.

The letters quoted add nothing to the architectural history of the abbey.

The Water Supply.

A copious supply of pure water was a necessity of every abbey, and, where possible, it was procured by gravitation, which in the case of the Cistercians, who invariably built in valleys, was not difficult to obtain. The great importance attached to a good water supply is apt to be overlooked, but wherever chronicles of individual houses exist, great stress is always laid upon it, and to it alone are due the only existing medieval plans of monasteries, namely, those of Christ Church, Canterbury, of about 1150,[1] and of the London Charterhouse, of about 1430.[2]

At Beaulieu the water has always been obtained from springs in the high ground to the east of the abbey, which the confirmation charter of Edward III. calls "the spring-head of the waters of Shireburn, that extend as far as the aforesaid abbey of the King's Beaulieu."[3] The supply is still used for Palace House and the village. The springs are collected into a conduit and conveyed thence in pipes by gravitation. The conduit house, which is apparently the original one of the thirteenth century, is circular on plan, 12 feet in diameter, with a plain domed ceiling, and is entered on its west side by a small shouldered doorway, 22 inches wide and 5 feet 3 inches high. The external covering of the dome, if it ever had any, has been

[1] R. Willis, *Architectural History of the Conventual Buildings of the Monastery of Christ Church in Canterbury* (1869), 174.

[2] *Archaeologia*, lviii. 293.

[3] *Monasticon Anglicanum*, v. 683. (Cart. 2 Ed. III., m. 4, n. 80.)

destroyed. The original welded lead pipes were in use to a short time ago, but owing to constant burstings they have been superseded by iron. The original pipes led directly to the cistern or conduit in the infirmary, already described, and from thence the water was distributed by lead services to the various offices of the monastery.

The Fish Ponds.

Another usual necessity of a monastery was a constant supply of fish, which was generally obtained by a series of ponds or stews in the near neighbourhood, even when excellent fishing rivers were at hand. With the Cistercians, however, fish was prohibited, except to the sick, until the thirteenth century, so that accommodation on a large scale for their rearing and storage was not required until that time.

At Beaulieu the arrangement of the stews is still clearly marked, though all are now dry. On the north side of the precinct two narrow valleys converge from the north and north-east with streams running down each, the latter being the old Shireburn. The stews, of which there were at least six, apparently four up the north valley[1] and certainly two up the Shireburn, were formed by earth banks across the valleys. To some of the ponds there appear to have been side channels so that an upper pond could have been emptied without interfering with the lower. In addition to these stews up the valleys there are two smaller ponds already mentioned just to the east of the claustral buildings, which were probably for the storage or cleansing of fish for immediate use.

Building Materials.

Owing to the convenient position of Beaulieu upon a tidal river, the whole of the building materials not obtainable on the spot could be brought by sea. Most of the stone was so brought, the freestone for external

[1] The topmost stew of this series has of recent years been used again for rearing fish, though on modern lines in small tanks.

work from Binstead, next Quarr Abbey in the Isle of Wight, the freestone for internal work from Caen in Normandy, and the marble for columns, capitals, and bases from Purbeck.

The walling generally was of rubble formed of wasters from the Binstead and Caen blocks mixed with beach boulders, and had freestone dressings throughout, though the church walls seem to have been faced with ashlar both inside and out. All the important doorways had columns, capitals, and bases of marble, and the continuous arcades of the cloister were of the same material, but otherwise marble was sparingly used.

The mortar is of a poor quality and made with coarse gravel.

The roofs of most of the buildings were covered with slate, fragments of which were found during the excavations on the outside of walls in great quantities; it was of a poor quality, of uneven thickness, very shaley, and probably came from Cornwall.

The floors of the church and some of the more important buildings were laid with tiles of a fair quality, which appear to have been made near the site, as clay is still dug which burns to a similar texture. Besides the patches already mentioned in the description of the buildings, numerous examples have been unearthed at various times and a number are preserved in the lay-brothers' frater and in the floors of the two garden houses opposite Palace House.[1] The accompanying four plates (XV, XVI, XVII, XVIII) illustrate the majority of the patterns that have been found. Some few of them, such as the griffin, eagles, and fleur-de-lys may be heraldic, but most are of foliated designs, the border patterns being the most unusual.[2] A curious series is that formed of hexagonal tiles bearing rings and cross

[1] These "curious" pavements were contrary to the rule of the Order, and at the General Chapter of 1218 it was decreed:

"Praecipitur ut omnis varietas pavimentorum de ecclesiis nostris infra sequens capitulum amoveatur. Ab eo tempore abbas in cujus domo illud emendatum non fuerit, ad capitulum generale veniat super hoc veniam petiturus."

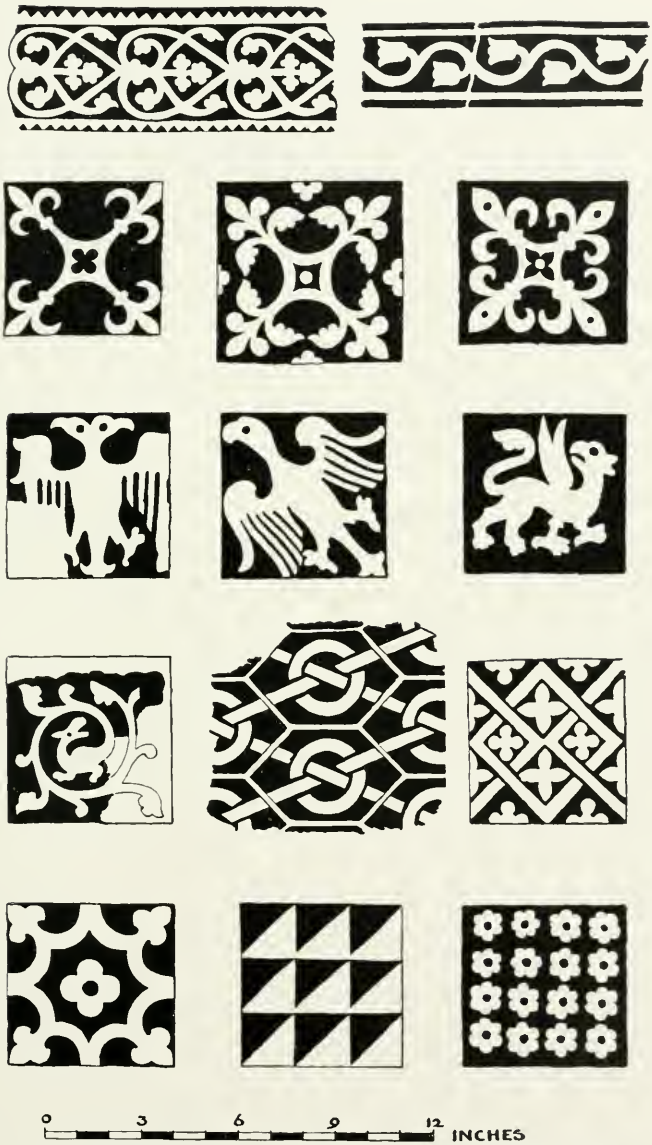
Martene and Durand, *Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum*, iv. col. 1322.

[2] At Netley precisely similar tiles have been met with (vide *Collectanea Archaeologica*, ii. 72), and if the supposition that they were made at Beaulieu be correct, it is interesting to show that the monks did not make tiles only for their own use.

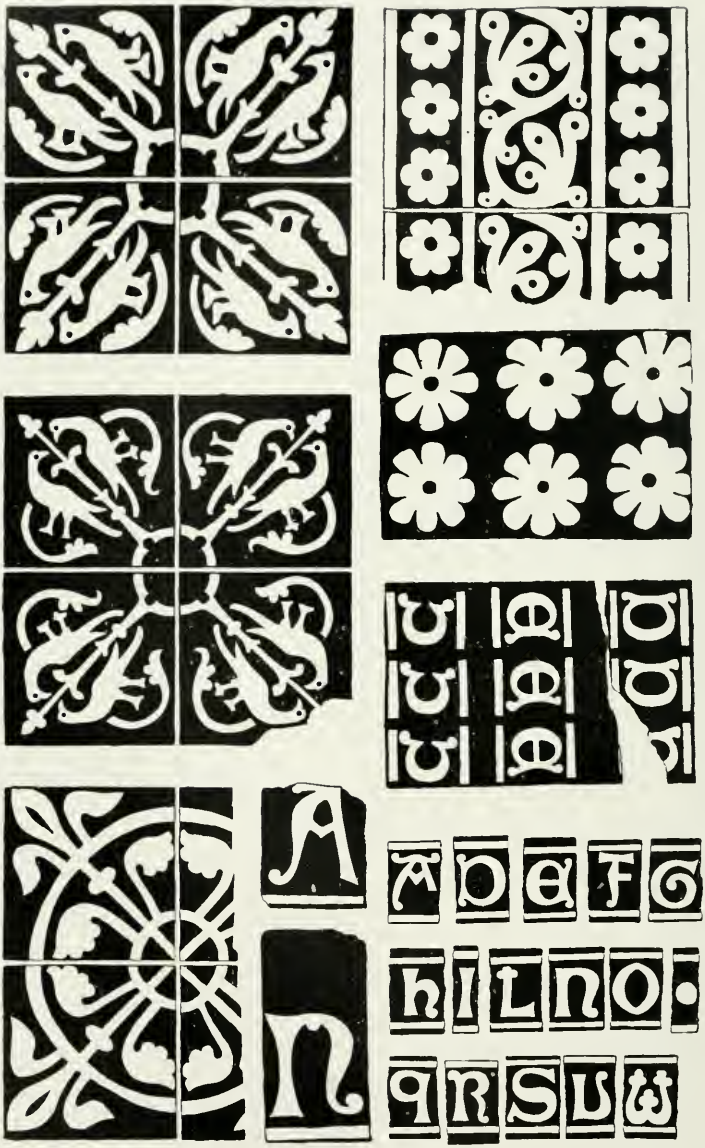


BEAULIEU ABBEY. EXAMPLES OF PAVING TILES.

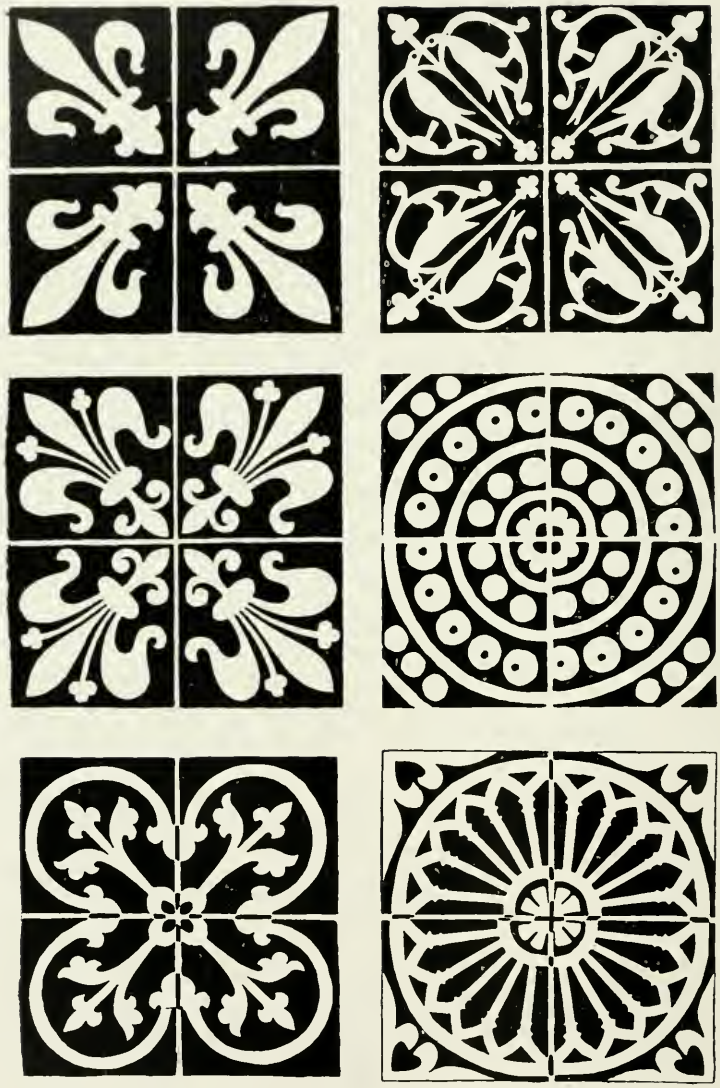
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BEAULIEU ABBEY. EXAMPLES OF PAVING TILES.



BEAULIEU ABBEY. EXAMPLES OF PAVING TILES.



BEAULIEU ABBEY. EXAMPLES OF PAVING TILES.

lines. The other shaped tiles, some plain and others with patterns, are unusual in the south of England, though the former are frequently met with in the north, in great variety at Fountains and Rievaulx, and the latter at Jervaulx. The cloister floors were paved with hard stone in squares set diagonally.

Various Remains.

Nothing in the shape of curiosities has been found in connexion with the various diggings undertaken by the writers, but, as already mentioned, there are various architectural fragments in the remaining piece of the lay-brothers' frater, together with three grave slabs and a so-called double heart coffin.

The most important of the grave slabs is placed on the floor on the east side. It is of the early part of the fourteenth century and consists of a Purbeck marble slab, 10 feet 1½ inch long by 2 feet 9 inches wide. In the middle is the casement for a brass effigy, under a cusped and crocketed canopy, with side shafts and pinnacles formed in white stone inlaid in the marble slab. The canopy had a brass finial formed of a crown, and on either side of it shields also of brass. Round the edges of the slab, marked by incised lines, is a wide band, which contained at the head of the slab an inlaid strip of white stone with incised lettering, and at the sides and foot little squares of inlaid white stone each containing an incised letter. Most of the inscription, owing to the soft nature of the white stone, has been worn away, but part on what was the north side reads: **IESV CRIST : OMNIPOTENT : FI** The other two slabs are fixed to the north wall on either side the lockers. The one to the right is of the end of the thirteenth century, and is of marble, 7 feet 7½ inches long by 2 feet 10 inches wide. It has in the middle the casement for a brass effigy of a lady, of a date about 1320, under a cusped canopy with side shafts and pinnacles and two shields at the head. Surrounding the slab was an inscription of which the beginning only is legible: **+ HIC : IACET : YSABELLA : PRIM** The remaining slab is also of Purbeck marble, 6 feet 5 inches long by 32 inches wide at the

head, tapering to 23 inches at the foot. It is perfectly plain but has an inscription round the edge : + DAV|N : WILLAME : DE : CORNWAILƐ :| ƓIST : ICI|: DEV : DE SA : ALME : ƐIT : PITƐ : ƐT : M|ƎRCI.

From this it can be identified as having covered the body of Dan William of Cornwall, a prior of Beaulieu, who was elected abbat of the daughter house of Newenham in Devonshire on 12th September, 1272. He died in 1288 and was buried at Beaulieu.[1]

Within one of the lockers is preserved a small coffin, said to have been found near the great gatehouse, wrought out of Binstead stone. It is 1 foot $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, tapering from $14\frac{1}{2}$ inches to $12\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and is $9\frac{3}{4}$ inches deep. It contains two heart-shaped sinkings, the one $10\frac{1}{2}$ by $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches and 7 inches deep, and the other $9\frac{1}{2}$ by $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches and 6 inches deep. The slab that covered it is 3 inches thick. In one of the sinkings was a green glazed ornamental vase 6 inches in diameter. The coffin was doubtless for the reception of the heart and entrails of some distinguished person whose body was buried elsewhere.

Seals.

Of the first seal of the abbey no impression seems to be known.

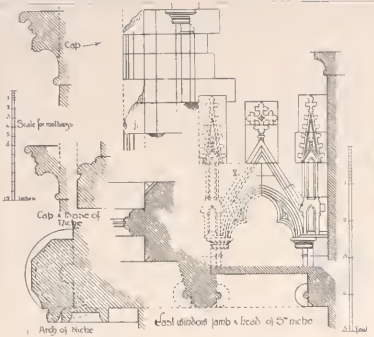
The later seal, an impression of which is appended to the deed of surrender in the Public Record Office, dates from the middle of the fifteenth century. It is circular, $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches in diameter, and has across the middle, on a low wall of masonry, a series of three broad niches. The middlemost, which is taller than the others, contains a seated figure of Our Lady, crowned, and holding the infant Saviour. The side niches each contain five monks, two in front being on their knees and three others standing behind. Of the figures in the dexter niche the foremost is the mitred abbot with his crosier. In base, under a wide three-centred arch, is a shield of the abbey arms, *a crosier encircled by a crown*, and on either side of it, on the

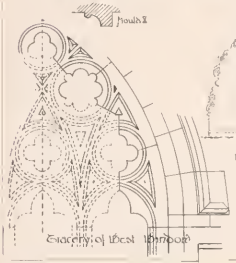
[1] *Monasticon Anglicanum*, v. 693. Register of Newenham.



St Leonard's Chapel
New Beaulieu Hants

Harold Brakspear Hon R.I. et del





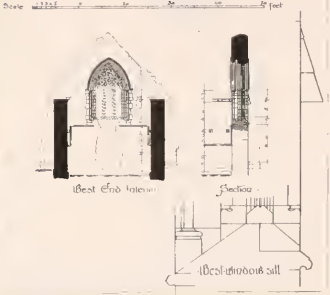












masonry, are a fleur-de-lys and a leopard respectively. Legend :

· Sigillum : comune mon | asterii : belli loci : regis :

Granges.

On the large manor of Beaulieu the monks had granges at Herfords, Otterwood, Bockelodginge, and St. Leonards. All but Bockelodginge are represented by farms of the original name, but Bockelodginge cannot be identified with certainty. St. Leonards is the only one of the four of which any remains are left, and these consist of a chapel and barn.

Granges with the Cistercians were complete little monasteries occupied by lay brothers under officers elected from themselves, and sometimes a few monks. Scarcely any have left remains, but the principal buildings are mentioned in connexion with Causton, a grange of Pipewell, namely, a cloister, a chapel, dorters with reredorters for monks and lay-brothers, a frater, a kitchen, and some private chambers.[1]

At St. Leonards the chapel was a detached building, of late thirteenth century date, of which all the walls remain to their full height, save half the north and the east gable. (Plate XIX.)

The east window, of which the jambs and springing of the arch remain, was originally of four lights with rerearch carried on small columns with moulded capitals and bases. It is flanked on either side by a large niche with pinnacled side shafts and trefoiled head under a straight-sided pediment terminated by a foliated cross. (Plates XIX and XX.)

The side walls had each two single-light windows, but the outer dressings have gone, and on the south side the wall is broken away above. On the north side the wall between the windows has been destroyed to within a few feet of the ground, but at 9 feet from the east wall is a locker with shouldered head and grooves for a wooden shelf at half height. Next the east end on the south side are remains of a wall-drain and

[1] Cott. MS. Otho B. 14, f. 154*b*.

another locker similar to that on the north. Beneath the windows is a continuous stringcourse, and at the top of the walls was a hollow stone cornice to take the wall plate of the roof. At the west end at 9 feet from the floor are two corbels in each wall to carry a western gallery 5 feet wide under the west window.

The west end shows the stringcourse of the side walls stepping up to above the gallery floor, over which is the west window, moulded as the east, but retaining its arch and a considerable amount of the tracery in connexion; from this it is possible to reconstruct the window. It was of three lights, with concentric arches springing from each mullion, with the spandrels filled with quatrefoils, octofoils, and a trefoil, respectively. Under the window was a doorway, the freestone of which has has been entirely removed.

Externally the east end has double buttresses at the angles with a plain plinth course round them and along the east wall. The west end has buttresses in line with the west wall, and one, with steep weathering, on either side the west window. A similar plinth course to the east is continued round the west end.

In the early part of this year (1906) the ground to the north of the chapel was lowered to form a sunk garden, but little of importance was found. At 18 feet from and parallel with the chapel was a wall 4 feet 9 inches thick; this continued from the line of the east end westward for 31 feet, at which point a wall 2 feet wide ran northward for 16 feet. At about 7 feet from both walls was found the fragment of what seemed to have been a hearth.

The present house is about 50 feet to the north of the chapel, but does not seem to be in any part ancient, though it has a single-light fifteenth-century window reused at either end of a long passage on the first floor.

South-eastward from the chapel are the remains of a great barn $216\frac{1}{4}$ feet long by $61\frac{1}{4}$ feet wide. Of this the east gable, north wall, and part of the south, with half the west gable, remain to their full height. The barn was divided into seven bays by wooden posts which, as

To face page 184.



ST. LEONARD'S GRANGE. NORTH-EAST CORNER OF CHAPEL.

shown by corbels in the end walls, were $14\frac{3}{4}$ feet from the side walls, forming a nave with aisles. Opposite each post were buttresses to the side walls and other larger ones, opposite each line of posts, to the gables. There is a large segmental doorway $12\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide with the valves opening outwards in the middle bay on the north side, and to the west a smaller doorway opening inwards. Both doors seem to have been protected by a porch, the beginning of the side walls of which remain as buttresses. The only windows seem to be two narrow square-headed loops high up in each gable.

Daughter Houses.

Though not referring directly to the architectural history of the abbey, a short notice of the houses that owed their origin to Beaulieu may not be out of place. As Beaulieu itself was founded late in the history of Cistercianism, and long after the edict of the General Chapter that no other houses of the Order were to be founded, it follows that its daughters were also of late origin. In fact, the two that have left remains, together with the mother house, form a most interesting group of what the ultra-severe Order was doing in the way of building towards the end of the thirteenth century when the builders were unshackled by pre-existing buildings. Four abbeys were colonized from Beaulieu :

1. Netley, two miles south-east of Southampton, was founded on the 25th July, 1239, by Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, and the value at the Suppression was £100 12*s.* 8*d.* Very considerable remains of the church, the eastern range of buildings, and a detached house to the east are left, but are in a deplorable condition through the unchecked ravages of ivy.
2. Hayles, two miles north-east of Winchcombe in Gloucestershire, was founded on the 17th June, 1246, by Richard, king of the Romans, and the value at the Suppression was

£357 7*s.* 8½*d.* Part of the north, east, and south walls of the cloister remain, and excavation has revealed the ground plan of the church and some of the other buildings.

3. Newenham, one mile south-west of Axminster in Devonshire, was founded on the 6th January, 1247, by Reginald de Mohun, and the value at the Suppression was £227 7*s.* 8*d.* Only very small remains exist.
4. St. Mary Graces, next the Tower in London, was founded on the 20th March, 1350, by King Edward III., and the value at the Suppression was £547 and 6½*d.*

The dates of foundation given above are taken from the *Origines Cistercienses*[1] and the values at the Suppression are the clear returns of the Commissioners, 26 Henry VIII. (1534–5), as given in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus.*[2]

[1] P. Leopold Janauschek, *Originum Cisterciensium Tomus I.* (Vindobonae, 1877).

[2] *Valor Ecclesiasticus temp. Henr. VIII.* (London, 1810 etc.), Vols. i and ii.

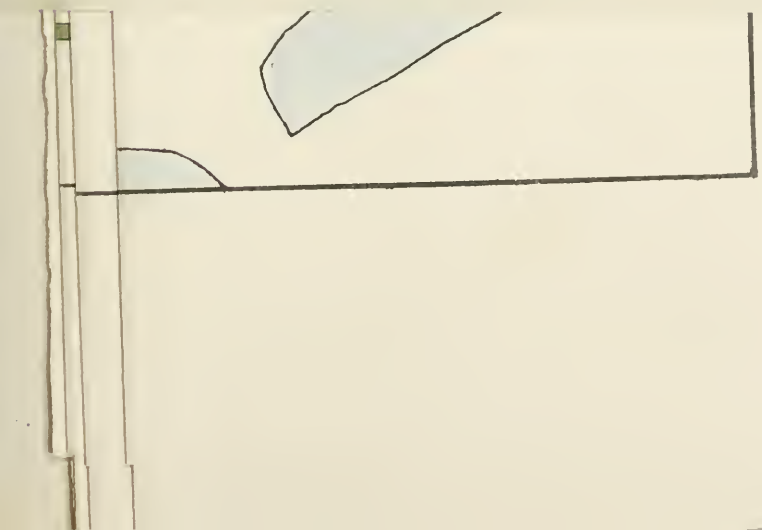


INNER TEMPLE
9 MAR 1907
LIBRARY

BEAULIEU ABBEY PLAN.

Erratum.

By a mistake the accompanying plan of Beaulieu Abbey was omitted from the September Number of the *Journal*: the authors intended it to be inserted at the end of their paper, and members are requested to instruct their binders to insert the plan in that place.



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BEAULIEU ABBEY

HISTORICAL GROUND PLAN



UPPER FLOOR OF GREAT GATEHOUSE

SCALE OF FEET

0 50 100 150 200

DATES

- 13th Century
- Late 13th Century
- 14th Century
- 15th Century
- Modern

Hatching of each colour shows destroyed walls of that period

The ground tint shows the parts that are supposed to have been roofed at the suppression

GALILEE
NORTH TRANSEPT
NAVE
QUIRE
PRESBYTERY
SOUTH TRANSEPT
CLOISTER
CHAPTER HOUSE
PARLOUR
MONKS' DORTER
KITCHEN
WARMING HOUSE
MONKS' FRATER
LAY BROTHERS' DORTER OVER
LAY BROTHERS' FRATER
CELLAR
LANE
COURT
INFIRMARY HALL
CHAPEL
PASSAGE
MISERICORD
LAVATORY
DRAIN
Present Church-Yard
FISH POOL

OUTER COURT
PALACE HOUSE
GREAT GATEHOUSE
CURTAIN
CURTAIN
THE MILL
CULVERT
CULVERT
RIVER EXE
Present Road
OUTER GATEHOUSE

HAROLD BRAKSPEAR, F.S.A.
WORK AT BEAU. 1906 TO 1918